Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1872-73,

BY

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I.,

MAJOR-GENERAL, ROYAL ENGINEERS (BENGAL RETIRED); DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. MEMBER, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; HON. MEMBER BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON. CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY

VOLUME V.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 227

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INDOLOGICAL BOOK HOUSE

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

To the scholars, students and readers it was a great problem to get books for research work, study and general reading of rare and out of print books. To meet their requirements, we, with much strenuous efforts could in the past procure books for them, for which on account of the rarity, they had to pay a prohibitive price or had to go without them. So to satisfy their urgent demand we have taken on ourselves the publications of some such books, especially on Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Paleography and the allied subjects. We have further tried to explore the works on ancient Indian History, Culture, Philosophy Art & Architecture etc. etc.

It is gratifying to note that we have undertaken to publish the entire works of Sir Alexander Cunningham who is a pioneer in the field of Archaeological survey of India. There are very few among the early Indologists, whose contributions, both in respect of quality and quantity can compare favourably with Sir Alexander Cunningham whose works become indispensible for all time. Beside two of his monumental works 'Corpus Inscription Indicarum' Vol. I (Inscriptions of Asoka and 'Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under Bodhi Tree at Budh Gaya') we have already published his two books on numismatics, viz. 'Coins of Ancient India' and 'Later Indo Scynthians' together with his 'Geography of Ancient India.' !

Further his complete Reports on Archaeological Survey of India 24 Volumes are being completed and the complete set will be soon in the readers hands.

We hope our endeavour in the field of Archaeology and other subjects will be appreciated by our customers and readers and they will tender their full co-operation and patronage and thus encourage us and so as to enable us to bring out further works of the renouned authors from time to time.

30-4-66 RAMESHWAR SINGH.

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PLATES.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume contains the results of a tour through the Punjâb during the cold season of 1872-73. The most noteworthy results of this tour are the acquisition of a new copy of the rock inscription of Asoka at Shâhbâz-garhi, and of an extensive and very valuable collection of Buddhist sculptures of the Indo-Scythian period. A small collection of similar sculptures which was taken to England by Dr. Leitner has not only excited much attention, but has caused some controversy both as to the age when the sculptures were executed, and as to the alleged traces of Grecian art which Dr. Leitner believes them to possess. On the latter point I must say that I agree entirely with Dr. Leitner. There are some of these sculptures which are no doubt rather coarsely, and others perhaps even clumsily, executed; but the majority of them exhibit a boldness of design and a freedom of execution which no Eastern artist has ever yet shown. I do not of course attribute them to actual Greek sculptors, but I firmly believe that they owe all their beauty as well as all their truth of grouping to the teachings of Greek artists, whose precepts were still understood and conscientiously followed long after the Greek dominion in North-Western India had passed away. One of the most characteristic marks which distinguishes these Indo-Grecian sculptures from all other Indian examples which I have yet seen, is that whenever a face is partly turned to one side, that side is invariably cut away to nearly

flatness so as to give a deeper shadow to it, and a greater prominence to the unaverted side. Whether this was a practice of any of the Greek sculptors I am unable to say; but I can vouch that it was not an Indian practice.

That I am fully justified in holding this belief I need only point to the fine specimens of Indo-Corinthian pillars which I have given with the appendix of the present volume. Of the Greek origin of their magnificent acanthus leaf capitals there can be no doubt. But if the architecture be Hellenic, it is only natural that we should look for some traces at least of the same influence in the sculptures which stood beside these Corinthian pillars.

As to the age of these specimens of Indo-Grecian architecture and sculpture, my belief is that the great mass of them belong to the most flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule under Kanishka and his immediate successors, or from 40 B. C. to about 100 A. D. The beauty of some specimens is so great that I should have been glad to have assigned them to a still earlier period. A few specimens, such as the figure of Athene with spear and helmet, now in the Lahore Museum, may date as early as 80 B. C. during the reign of Azas, on whose coins a similar figure of the goddess is found. But there is no trace of any Greek writing, and as nearly all of the subjects of the sculptures are illustrative of the Buddhist religion, I think that they must be later than the period of Greek rule in the Kabul valley, which ended about B. C. 120.

One argument that has been brought forward against the early date which I have assigned to these sculptures, is the fact that no images of Buddha are found amongst the sculptures of the Sânchi Stupa, which dates as late as 100 A. D. But though I believe this to be strictly true of Central India, yet it is absolutely certain that images of Buddha were known in the Kabul valley and Punjâb before

the Christian era, as the coins of Kanishka present us with two unmistakeable figures of Buddha—one as the teacher seated, the other as the teacher standing,—in each case with the right hand upraised as if in the act of speaking.* The Greek legend which accompanies these figures has not been satisfactorily deciphered; but as the one portion of it which is clear on all the coins reads *Saka m* × ×, there can be no doubt that the figure is that of Sâkya Muni. It is equally certain that images of Buddha had been introduced into Northern India about the same period, as several of them have been found at Mathura with inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors Huvishka and Vasu Deva. The colossal statue of Buddha which I dug up in the Kosamba Kuti temple at Srâvasti is, I believe, of a somewhat earlier date, as the syllable *sya*, which occurs in it more than once, is of an older form than that of the Indo-Scythian records.

But these same sculptures also present us with another style of architecture, which I have ventured to call the *Indo-Persian*, as its prototype is to be found in the famous pillars of the Achœmenian palaces at Persepolis and Susa. In the Appendix I have given a brief notice of several specimens of this Indo-Persian style, which is found to have prevailed over the whole of Northern India both before and after the Christian era. In the North-West it was supplanted by the three different styles of Greek architecture by the Indo-Corinthian in the Kabul valley, by the Indo-Ionic in Taxila, and by the Indo-Doric in Kashmir. But no specimens of these styles have been found to the east of the Sutlej, whereas the Indo-Persian style was spread over the whole of Northern India from Kabul to Orissa, and from the banks of the Ganges to the source of the

* See *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3, for the image of the standing teacher, and Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1845, Plate II, Fig. 6, for the sitting teacher, in my notice of unpublished coins of the Indo-Scythians.

Godâvari. Numerous specimens of it may be seen in the sculptures of Bharhut, Gaya, and Sânchi, and in the actual pillars of Mathura, Nasik, Bedsa, and Orissa.

A brief list of the sculptures obtained by my own explorations and by those of the Company of Sappers employed under my instructions is given in the Appendix. A selection of the finer and more interesting specimens is now being photographed, and I hope ere long to be able to publish a volume illustrative of the architecture and sculpture of the Kabul valley during the rule of the Indo-Scythians. Most of the sculptured scenes are of course religious relating to events in the life of Buddha, either true or legendry, in many of which Deva-datta plays a prominent part. Two *Jâtakas* also have been identified, but there are several others that still await recognition, besides several domestic scenes, some of which are both curious and novel. One of the sculptures represents the famous scene where Buddha shows to Uruvilwa Kâsyapa the Nâga whom he had overcome and imprisoned in his alms bowl.

The statues of the kings are perhaps equally interesting for the great variety and elaborate richness of their head-dresses. Amongst more than twenty specimens I have not found any two alike, although the same style prevails with several. The hair is generally in wavy tresses, with knots tied on the top of the head, or on the left or right side, or on both sides, the different parts being separated and kept in place by jewelled bands or strings of pearls. Some of these intricate arrangements of the hair are magnificent enough to raise the envy, perhaps to excite the despair, of the most fashionable lady of the present day.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE SEASON 1872-73.

YUSUFZAI.

YUSUFZAI is the common name of the country which is now occupied by the Yusufzai Afghans. It comprizes the independent districts of Suwât and Buhner, to the north of the Hazârno and Mahâban range of mountains, and the level plains to the south of the mountains lying between the Suwât River and the Indus.[1] Its boundaries are Chitrâl and Yasin to the north, Bajâwar and the Suwât River to the west, the Indus to the east, and the Kâbul River to the south. The southern half of Yusufzai, which is now under British rule, is the only portion of the country that is accessible to Europeans. This is very much to be regretted, as the broad and fertile valley of the Suwât River is known to be rich in ancient remains, which will only lessen both in number and value as successive years pass over them. During the past year Dr. Leitner procured some specimens of Buddhist sculpture from Suwât; and lately I have been fortunate enough to obtain two inscriptions from northern Yusufzai, one from Suwât and one from Bajâwar. These few trophies, which have been wrested with difficulty from the forbidden territory of a bigoted people, are sufficient to prove that both Suwât and Bajâwar must possess many ancient Buddhist remains of the same style and date as those of Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi to the south of the mountains.

[1] See Plate II for a map of the Yusufzai District.

The British district of Yusufzai comprizes the whole of the country to the south of the mountains except the small and hilly district of Khodokhel in the north-east, and the heads of a few small valleys in the north and north-west. British Yusufzai, therefore, corresponds with the ancient district of *Penkolaitis*, or *Pushkalávati*. It is bounded by the Hazârno and Mahâban range of mountains to the north, by the Kâbul River to the south, and by the Indus and Suwât Rivers to the east and west. It is about 65 miles in length from Hashtnagar to Topi on the Indus, and about 30 miles in breadth from Kharkai to Noshehra on the Kâbul River, the area being rather less than 2,000 square miles. At the present day this district is very thinly peopled, the whole population being estimated by Dr. Bellew at not more than 140,000 Afghans and about 125,000 foreigners, or only 132 inhabitants to the square mile. This dearth of population is no doubt mainly due to the scarcity of water, which is only scantily distributed over the northern half in several petty rills, and is entirely wanting in the southern half.

But there is abundant evidence to show that the country was once much more thickly populated, in the numerous mounds of ruined cities and villages which still stud the Yusufzai plain in all directions; not only along the courses of the petty streams, but far away from their banks, and even in the very midst of the treeless and arid desert of the present day. It has therefore been supposed that when all these cities were in existence, the country must have been more plentifully supplied with water. We know that it must once have possessed a considerable extent of forest, as the Emperor Baber and his soldiers, when in Yusufzai, several times hunted the rhinoceros, an animal which is never found except in the shelter of woods. On one occasion, indeed, the hunted rhinoceros is said to have escaped to the woods. These woods are now gone, but I would rather attribute their extinction to the improvident habits of a lazy population, which is always cutting down and never planting, than to any change in the supply of water. Most of the Muhammadan burial-grounds are thickly shaded by fine trees, which it would be considered a sacrilege to fell. If these trees can continue to grow in such high and dry situations in spite of the neglect of man, it seems to

me to be almost certain that they would have flourished at least equally well in other places had they not been cut down by the hands of the improvident people themselves.

The natural formation of British Yusufzai offers many advantages for securing an artificial supply of water, which I can hardly suppose were lost sight of by the thrifty Buddhist population, that held the country for so many centuries before the conquest of Mahmud of Ghazni brought in the rapacious Musalmâns. The upper or northern half of the country is divided by mountain ridges into four distinct valleys or basins, which form the present districts of Lûnkhor, Sûdam, Razar, and Utmanzai. The *Badraikhor*, which waters the last named district, joins the Indus just below Ohind; but all the streams of the other three valleys converge and join their waters near Toru, from whence they flow in one marshy bed down to the Kâbul River opposite Noshehra.

The valley of Lûnkhor is watered by several streams which now flow in deep beds of hard clay, and pass through four separate openings in the Pâja ridge between Jamâl-garhi and Takht-i-Bahi. The Bagiâraikhor and Wuchkhor join their scanty streams under Kot Julga near Takht-i-Bahi; the Lûnkhor and Chalpânikhor unite half way between the Takht and Jamâl-garhi; and the Godar Rûd, after passing the large town of Kâtlang, flows through an opening in the ridge immediately under Jamâl-garhi. The main stream of the Lûnkhor valley is the Chalpâni or Khalpâni, or "deceitful waters," so called from its sudden floodings and changing quick-sands.[1] It maintains this name throughout its course, down to its junction with the Kâbul River opposite Noshehra. I think that the Khalpâni or Chalpâni River may be identified with the Malamantos of Arrian, which he joins with the Suastos and Garaios, as the tributaries of the Kophas River, in the district of Penkolaitis. As the Suastos and Garaios have long ago been identified with the rivers of Suwât and Panjkora, the Malamantos can only be the Khalpâni; and this notice of it by the Greeks of Alexander's army would seem to show that in his time the stream was of more importance than it is at the present day. I take Malamantos to be only a slightly corrupt form of the name of Khalpâni.

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[1] Dr. Bellew's "Report on Yusufzai," p. 24.

Between Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi there are four distinct openings in the Pâja ridge, each of which has been cut down to its present level by the annual floods of these petty streams during many centuries. Now, any one who has examined the large artificial lakes of Bundelkhand and Rajputana, which were constructed by the old Hindu Rajas, would see at once that embankments could easily be thrown across all of these streams at the points where they pass through the Pâja ridge; and what could now be done with success, is not likely to have escaped the notice of the keen-sighted practical Hindu of earlier days. I conclude, therefore, that before the Muhammadan conquest the waters of all these streams to the north of the Pâja ridge were collected during the floods by strong embankments, and afterwards carefully distributed by irrigating channels over the thirsty plains to the south of Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi.

The Sûdam valley, which is drained by the Makâm Rûd, lies between the two parallel ridges of Pâja and Kâramâr, and is quite open to the south for a distance of eight miles between Jamâl-garhi and Shâhbâz-garhi. The channel of the Makâm Rûd is not too deep to prevent its waters being drawn up by Persian wheels for the irrigation of a narrow strip of land on each bank. But there are traces on both banks of a much more extensive system of irrigation having existed in former days, and I conclude therefore that this stream also must once have been embanked at various points, and its waters distributed by numerous channels over a much wider extent of land. These embankments need not have been more than temporary ones constructed annually of boulders, like those which are now made to guide small branches of streams to turn water mills.

The Shagai-Kanda of Razar and the Badraikhor of Utmanzai were most probably embanked in a similar manner, and their waters, which are now lost, would have been distributed over a broad belt of cultivation extending perhaps as far as Yâr-Husen and Zeda. That this is no imaginary picture of the richer state of the country in early times, we have the most complete proof in the description of Udyâna by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun in A. D. 519. "At the proper time," says this pilgrim, "they let the streams overflow the land, by which the soil is rendered soft and fertile."[1]

[1] Beal's Sung-Yun p. 189.

When all these embankments existed, and the collected waters were distributed over a wide extent of land, the country must have been much more thickly populated, and the mounds of ruins, which now stud the plains in all directions, would then have been flourishing towns and villages. Such I believe to have been the general state of the Yusufzai plain down to the time of Mahmud's invasion. As well as I could judge, the number of ruined mounds appeared to be greater than that of the existing villages; and as Dr. Bellew estimates them at 200 or more,[1] the population of the Yusufzai plain before the Muhammadan conquest must have been more than double that of the present day, or about 300,000 persons, who would have produced a yearly revenue of from £30,000 to 40,000.

The most complete examination of the Yusufzai ruins that has yet been made is due to Dr. Bellew, who resided for many years at Mardân, and whose unequalled knowledge of Pashtu commanded the best information which the country could supply. To his published account of the district of Yusufzai, as well as to his personal communications, I am indebted for much information which I could hardly have acquired elsewhere.

The principal groups of ruins are at Shâhbâz-garhi, Sâwaldher, and Sahri Bahlol in the plain; and at Rânigat, Jamâlgarhi, Takht-i-Bahi, and Kharkai on the hills. There are similar remains at many other places, as at Topi, Ohind, and Zeda in Utmanzai; at Tûrli, Bakshâli, and Gharyâli in Sûdam; and at Matta and Sanghao in Lûnkhor. I have visited most of these myself, and I can now add to my own partial and hurried researches the more complete and deliberate explorations which have been made under my instructions by the Sappers and Miners.

Of the smaller mounds, Dr. Bellew writes[2] that they are all " of the same character, and are often more extensive than the modern villages built upon them. The surface soil on and about them is thickly strewed with fragments of red pottery. Below the surface the soil is loose, and contains bone, human and other, pieces of red pottery, Hindu beads, glass bracelets, ashes, charcoal, a few idols and coins, mostly Hindu. In some parts, at four or five feet below the surface,

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[1] Dr. Bellew's Report on Yusufzai, p-145.
[2] Dr. Bellew's Report on Yusufzai, p. 146.

are found massive stone walls. Many of these mounds have been dug into by the natives for these large stones, as there is no other source of supply on the plain. In the search for these are dug up Buddhist and Hindu idols, and a variety of coins, including Greek, Bactrian, Hindu, Scythian, and Muhammadan; the last named, however, only in mounds now occupied by modern villages."

"The general paucity of stone buildings in the mounds is easily accounted for by the absence of the material from the spot, and the difficulty of conveying it in sufficient quantity from the hills. In some parts the blocks of stone are of great size, and their transport from the hills must have been very difficult, unless effected by means of wheeled carriages; for many of the mounds are in an alluvial plain, at least fifteen miles from the hills. This circumstance will also account for the utter obliteration of the mass of the former buildings; for, like the modern villages, they must have been built of mud. The traces of stone walls above alluded to, were probably parts of the village temples. Near the foot of the hills these mounds almost entirely consist of piles of stone, covering the foundations of walls and chambers."

The ancient remains found in these mounds consist of coins, sculptures, pieces of pottery, beads of all sizes, and bones both of men and animals. The sculptures are chiefly Buddhist, but a few rare pieces are Brahmanical. The coins are very numerous; and from their evidence alone I can state that many of these mounds are the ruins of villages which were occupied from a period preceding the invasion of Alexander down to the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. The earliest coins are the well-known square copper pieces, with various devices on one side only, and others with an elephant on one side and a lion on the other, which were unitated in the copper coinage of Pantaleon and Agathokles. Of the pure Greek kings, I obtained several specimens of Antimachus, Philoxenes, Antialkidas, Apollodotus, Menander, and Hermæus. Of the *Sacæ* Scythian kings, I got a few of Moas and Vonones, and a considerable number of Azas; while of the kings of the *Tochari* Scythians, I obtained a few specimens of Kujula-Kadphizes, twice as many of Wema-Kadphises, and nearly equal numbers of Kanerke, Hoërke, Bazo-Deo, and the nameless king. Coins of the White Huns and little Yuchi, of Indo-Sassanian types,

though not uncommon, were rarely in good order; while those of the Brahman kings of Kabul, both in silver and in copper were pretty common. I got only one coin of Mahmud of Ghazni, but I saw several copper specimens of some of his successors, and a few of the earlier Pathan kings of Delhi.

The only inscriptions yet found are all in the Arian character, which would appear to have fallen into disuse about the beginning of the second century after the Christian era, as the gold coins of the Indo-Scythian Tochari, even so early as the time of Bazo-Deo, use only the Indian letters of the Gupta period. It seems probable, therefore, that the great mass of the Buddhist monasteries and temples of Yusufzai must have been built during the reign of Kanishka and his immediate successors, from about B. C. 50 to A. D. 150.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, as we learn from the different Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hian, Sung-Yun, and Hwen-Thsang, the district of Pakkalaoti or Penkolaitis was full of Buddhist buildings. But in the time of the last pilgrim the Brahmanists had already introduced the worship of their god Maheswara Deva, and of his wife Bhimâ, whose statue in blue stone was set up on the top of a high mountain at 50 *li*, or upwards of eight miles, to the north-east of *Po-lu-sha*. This I will hereafter show to be the Kâramâr mountain, eight miles to the north-east of Shâhbâz-garhi, which place I have identified with *Po-lu-sha*, the native city of the famous Prince Sudatta. This early introduction of Brahmanism is amply confirmed by the coins of the little Yuchi, on which we find both the trident of Siva and his bull Nandi. It is corroborated by the statement of Sung-Yun[1] that the king of Gândhâra in A. D. 520 "did not believe the laws of Buddha, but loved to worship *demons*." The people of the country, however, "had a great respect for the laws of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books." Here we see that the people were still attached to the old faith, although their king was a determined Brahmanist. But Buddhism continued to decline, and before the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans it had probably disappeared altogether. Its monuments, however, still survive in such numbers, and of such striking beauty, as to attest

[1] Beal's Chinese pilgrims, p. 197.

beyond all doubt that it was once the dominant religion of a rich and pious people, who were proud to expend their wealth in costly monuments for the honour of their religion.

Of the Brahmanical period there are few remains, except coins, which are, however, so exceedingly numerous, that they alone are sufficient to prove the complete ascendancy obtained by the Brahmans during the two centuries immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest.

Of the Muhammadans themselves but few monuments now remain except coins. The oldest is a red brick building at Kapur-da-garhi, which the people attribute to Mahmud of Ghazni. The place is said to have been originally founded by Mahmud, who named it Langarkot, the present name being a comparatively modern one, derived from a youth called Kapûr.

SHÂHBÂZ-GARHI.

The great rock inscription at Shâhbâz-garhi was first discovered by General Court, who described it as being situated *quite close* to Kapurdi-garhi, and *almost effaced by time.*[1] Kapurdi-garhi, however, is two miles distant, and the rock is actually within the boundary of the large village of Shâhbâz-garhi, from which it is less than half a mile distant. Court's notice of the rock inscription stimulated the zeal and curiosity of Masson, who, in October 1838, proceeded to Shâhbâz-garhi[2], where he succeeded in making a very fair copy of the inscription, which enabled Norris to identify it as another transcript of Asoka's well-known edicts, but engraved in Arian characters.

I visited the place in January 1847, but I had no means of making an impression of the inscription; and as I believed that Masson had made a complete copy, I did not attempt to take a hand copy. But my examination of Masson's impression, now in London, showed me that it was very desirable to have a more perfect copy; and during my exploration of the Panjab in the past cold season I visited Shâhbâz-garhi, and after considerable trouble and delay from several days of heavy rain, I believe that I succeeded in making as complete a copy of the whole inscription as the rough surface of the rock will permit.

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[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal V, page 481.
[2] Royal Asiatic Society's Journal VIII, page 297.

During my stay at Shâhbâz-garhi I made a survey of the neighbourhood, and was surprised to find that the present village was the site of a very old and extensive city, which, according to the people, was once the capital of the country. They pointed to several mounds of ruins as having been inside the city, and to two well-known spots named *Khaprai* and *Khapardarrá*, as the sites of the northern and eastern gates of the city. The truth of their statements was confirmed by an examination of the ground within the limits specified, which I found everywhere strewn with broken bricks and pieces of pottery. The old name of the place was not known ; but some said it was *Sattâmi*, and others *Setrâm* and *Sitarâmi*, all of which I believe to be simple corruptions of the name of the famous Buddhist Prince *Sudâna* or *Sudatta*.

The present name of Shâhbâz-garhi is not older than the time of Baber, and was derived from the Ziârat, or shrine of a famous saint named Shâhbâz-kalandar, who died about thirty years before Baber's conquest of the Yusufzai country[1]. According to the statements of the people, Shâhbâz was a kâfir ; and this agrees with Baber's account of him as "an impious unbeliever, who, in the course of the last thirty or forty years, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusufzais and Dilazâks." Baber thus continues : "At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makâm, there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country ; it is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds. Upon it stood the tomb of Shâhbâz-kalandar. I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever. I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down and levelled with the ground." As this was in A. D. 1519, the death of Shâhbâz must have taken place about A. D. 1490. The old name must therefore have been in use down to the time of Baber ; but unfortunately he gives only the name of *Makâm*, which is that of the stream of Shâhbâz-garhi at the present day. Baber also speaks of the hill above the shrine of Shâhbâz as the hill

[1] According to Akhun Darwaizah, quoted by Dr. Bellew in his Yusufzai Report, page 116; and this date is confirmed by Baber's own account, which is quoted in the text.

of Makâm; but the name is not that of the town but of the valley, as he mentions that he "halted in the midst of Makâm." I accept therefore the statement of the people that the old name of the town was something like Sattâmi or Setrâm, or Sitarâm, which I propose to identify with the city of the famous Buddhist Prince Sudâna.

The antiquity of the site of Shâhbâz-garhi did not escape the notice of Dr. Bellew, who describes the place as "built on the actual ruins of an ancient stone-built town, the foundations of some of the former houses still existing in tolerable formation in different parts of the modern mud-built village." As a proof "that this site was in past times occupied by Buddhist and Hindu races, he adduces the fact that "coins are still found in excavating the soil round the old walls.[1]

In the accompanying map[2] I have inserted all the principal mounds of ruins, which serve to mark the extreme limits of the ancient city. The modern village occupies the western slope of Mount Zarrai, which is a short spur thrown off from the western extremity of the great mountain of Kâramâr, which Baber calls "the hill of Makâm." The site of the old town is bounded to the west by the stream of the Makâm Rûd for about one mile in length; and to the east for about the same length by the end of the great mountain of Kâramâr; the several distances between the stream and the mountain ridge being about one mile, except towards the south, where they approach within 3,000 feet. The whole circuit is therefore about four miles, and the area about one square mile, of which not less than one-fourth is occupied by the rocky ridge of Zarrai. To the north, beyond Mount Zarrai, the extreme limit of the old city is marked by the presence of broken bricks and pottery for upwards of a quarter of a mile farther, but I consider that this was only a suburb, outside the city walls. The true limits of the city within the walls I take to have been as follows: On the west, the Makâm Rûd up to Khaprai, where the north gate is said to have been situated; on the north, the Zarrai ridge, from Khaprai to the north-east gate in the Gel Pass, where no wall was required, excepting for a short distance to join Khaprai with a spur of the ridge; on the east, the Kâramâr

[1] Report on Yusufzai, page 116.
[2] See Plate III, Ruins at Shâhbâz-garhi.

ridge from the north-east gate at Gel to the east at Khapar Darrâ, and thence to the end of the ridge in the rocky mound called Hinduân Gundai; and on the south, from Hinduân Gundai to the Makâm Rûd, a distance of only 3,000 feet.

As the present village, which occupies about only one-sixth of the old area, contains 400 houses, the ancient city may have contained about 2,500 houses, and upwards of 12,000 inhabitants; or with the suburbs on all sides perhaps not less than 20,000 inhabitants.

The principal existing remains at Shâhbâz-garhi consist of the Pukai mound on the north, the Khere Gundai and Butsahri mounds on the east, the Hinduân Gundai mound on the south, with the famous rock inscription half-way up the hill immediately above it. There are also many smaller mounds within the city limits, and several extensive mounds at Chanak-ka-dheri, one mile to the north, and a large cave in the Kâramâr hill to the north-east.

The *Pukai* mound is the extreme western end of the Zarrai hill, immediately to the north of the present village, and to the south of the north gate at Khaprai. It is 100 feet square at top and 60 feet in height, and is composed chiefly of large stones and huge bricks, 13 inches square by 3½ thick. On two sides I traced the remains of walls, and on the north-west, facing the Makâm Rûd, I uncovered a flight of steps. As I was informed by the people that this mound had been excavated by the Sappers in 1871· without any result, I was induced to give up my intended exploration.

The *Khere Gundai* mound is situated outside the Khapar Darrâ Pass, which is said to have been the east gate of the city. The mound is rather extensive, being 400 feet long from north to south and 250 feet broad. At the south-east corner there is a large mass of ruin, 25 feet in height, and upwards of 80 feet square at base. A superficial excavation showed this to be the remains of a large Vihar, 58 square outside with walls 5 feet 4 inches thick, standing on a terrace 71 feet square. The entrance was to the north, towards the east gate of the city. Inside I found four massive pillars, each 7 feet 5 inches square. I regret that I was unable to explore this building further for want of time, as it would appear from its size to have been of some importance. Perhaps the Sappers may be able to complete its excavation during the next cold season.

The *Butsahri* mound stands half a mile to the north-east of Khere Gundai, and the same distance to the east of Khapar Darrâ, and on the high road to the Indus at Ohind. It is about equal in height to the Pukai mound, and is rather more extensive; but as it is entirely covered with Muhammadan tombs, I found it quite impossible to make any explorations whatever. Immediately to the south of the mound stands the *Ziârat*, or shrine of Akhun Bâba, surrounded by a few huts. The name of *Butsahri*, or *Butseri*, most probably refers to some statue or monument of Buddha, which once stood on the mound.

The *Hinduân Gundai*, or "hillock of the Hindus," derives its name from the practice of the Hindu inhabitants of *burying* in it all their children who die young. It is an isolated eminence at the extreme south-west end of the Kâramâr ridge, and about 250 yards distant from the great rock inscription. It is about the same size as the Pukai mound, and presents the remains of a square enclosure of stone walls. It was excavated by the Sappers in 1871, but without any results. It has already been identified by Dr. Bellew[1] with the site of the tomb of Shâhbâz Kalandar as described by Baber, whose account has been quoted before. From its position at the extreme end of the Kâramâr ridge, it commands, as correctly stated by Baber, "a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds.[2]" Dr. Bellew is no doubt quite right in his conclusion, that "this is probably the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery."

Of the smaller mounds within the limits of the city I explored only two, the greater number being covered with Muhammadan tombs. These two were situated immediately under the Zarrai hill, and about midway between the village and the Gel Pass, or north-east gate of the ancient city. Both showed the remains of large stone enclosures, the more perfect one being 73 feet broad with a building 39 feet square, at a distance of 56 feet from the south wall. This may have been either a Vihâr, or the square basement of a Stupa. In this mound we discovered a broken statue of Buddha, together with several fragments of others, and a

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[1] Report on Yusufzai, p. 116.
[2] Memoirs by Leyden and Erskine, p. 252.

copper coin of the Scythian king, Wema Kadphises, who lived about 60 B. C.

Of the mounds lying outside the city to the north, the nearest, marked G in the map, is one quarter of a mile to the north of the Gel Pass, or north-east gate of the city. It is a long low mound, not exceeding 10 feet in its highest part.

About one mile and a quarter to the north of the Gel Pass there is a group of several mounds known as *Chanaka-dheri*. The meaning of this is unknown. There are three principal mounds, each several hundred feet in length, and from 15 to 20 feet in height. They all show the remains of massive stone walls; but as three days' superficial excavation disclosed nothing of value except a number of walls, I gave up their further exploration for want of time.

The cave which I discovered in the Kâramâr hill is situated in the north face of the ridge, just two miles to the north-east of the village of Shâhbâz-garhi. It has no special name, and is simply known as "the Cave." It is a natural hollow under an immense concave mass of rock, which has been increased partly by the long-continued action of water running through it, and partly by the hand of man in scooping out the floor. The cave is about 80 feet up the side of the hill, with its opening facing the north. The mouth is 15 feet long and rather low, but the height has been reduced purposely by piling up stones to form a rough wall right across the opening.[1] The greatest depth from the mouth to the back of the cave is 25 feet, and the greatest length 26 feet. The height varies very much, from 4½ feet at the lowest point of the mouth to 9½ feet at the highest point of the covering mass of rock. I had twenty people with me when I visited the cave, and as it rained heavily for about an hour, the whole party found shelter inside, and there was more than sufficient room for the same number to have slept on the floor.

As the cave of Sudatta is said to have had two chambers, I had already made enquiries for a second room, but none was known to any of my party. While the rain lasted and the men were employed in digging up the floor, I made a more minute examination of the cave, and at the farthest point I spied a small dark hole only 1¾ feet broad and 2¼

[1] See Plate IV for a plan and section of this cave.

feet high. As no end could be felt with a long pole of 10 feet, a man crept inside through the narrow opening, which he found to be 7 feet in length, when it suddenly increased to 6 feet in breadth for a further length of 12 feet, with an average height of 3 and 4 feet. Originally this second room must have been somewhat higher, say from 5 to 6 feet, as the bottom is now filled with a mass of small rounded stones, which appear to have been, washed in from above. This, then, was the cave that I was in search of, and which I will presently attempt to identify with the famous two-chambered cave of Prince Sudâna, or Sudatta.

In the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Sung-Yun and Hwen-Thsang, there are some very curious details regarding the various spots which had been rendered famous by the romantic and well-known story of Prince Sudâna, who was believed to have been one of the previous incarnations of Buddha. The story is told at length in the Wessantara Jâtaka, which is one of the most popular Buddhist legends both in Ceylon and in Burma at the present day,[1] and which was no doubt equally popular in other Buddhist countries of ancient India. It was certainly very well known in Mâlwa as the whole history of the prince, and his wife and their two children is represented at length in the sculptures of the north gate of the great Bhilsa Tope.[2]

According to the legend, Prince Wessantara was the son of Sanda Raja of Siwi, and his wife Phusati. The capital city was named Jayatura, and the country adjoined that of Chetiya, which also had its Raja. The prince was noted for his unusual liberality, and for never refusing to give away any of his possessions that he was asked for. This extreme benevolence at length brought him into trouble, when the people rose indignantly, and demanded his banishment for giving away the richly-prized white elephant of Siwi to the Raja of Kalinga. The religious history begins at this point, and every spot connected with his after-career possessed a monument commemorating the event. In the narratives of the Chinese pilgrims, the prince is named Sudâna and Sudatta, or the "illustrious giver;" but this was only a title given to Wessantara on account of his great liberality, as

[1] See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 116, and Bigandet's Burmese Buddha, p. 83.
[2] This was first pointed out by Mr. Beal; see Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, 2nd series, vol. 169.

the histories of Sudâna and Wessantara are precisely the same.

In the legend of Wessantara there is nothing to indicate in what part of India the country of Siwi and the city of Jayatura were situated; [1] but from the joint testimony of Sung-Yun and Hwen-Thsang we learn that the people of Northern Gandhâra believed that their own chief city was the actual scene of all the famous deeds of charity done by Prince Sudatta. But there is no reason to suppose that the country of Sibi or Siwi was to the west of the Indus. The legend was most probably suggested by the actual name of the district, *Súdam*, which, by a slight alteration, became *Sudâna* —"*Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula.*" The latter was, no doubt, the case in the present instance, as we know it to have been in so many others of the most famous Buddhist legends. Thus, by a slight alteration, *Takshasila*, or the "cut stone," became *Taksha-sira*, or the "cut head," and originated the legend of Buddha presenting his head to a starving tiger. So also *Ahi-kshetra*, or the "snake's field," became *Ahi-Chhatra*, or the "*Snake's hood*," and gave rise to the legend of the snake protecting Buddha from the rain by canopying him with his hood.

The city of Sudatta is called *Po-lu-sha* by Hwen-Thsang, and *Fo-sha-fu* by Sung-yun, or simply *Fo-sha*, as the last syllable *fu* means 'city'. The two transcripts are evidently intended for the same, which M. Julien renders by *Varusha*. The position assigned to it by Hwen-Thsang is about 40 miles to the north-east of Peshâwar, and 27 miles to the north-west of *Utakhanda*, or Ohind. These bearings and distances fix the site of the city somewhere in the valley of the Makâm Rûd, which the subsequent mention of the Dantâlok hill and of a cave within a few miles of the city limits to the neighbourhood of Shâhbâz-garhi. That this was one of the chief cities of the country in ancient times we learn from the traditions of the people, as well as from the extent of the existing ruins and the presence of the great rock inscription of Asoka. From all these concurring circumstances I feel satisfied that the site of Shâhbâz-garhi represents the ancient city of *Po-lu-sha* or *Fo-sha*, an

[1] I believe that *Sibi*, and its capital *Jayatura*, may be identified with *Saiwála* and its chief city Chitor. I propose to discuss this question when I come to speak of *Hánsi* and *Tushám*.

identification which will be strongly corroborated by an examination of some of the details furnished by the Chinese pilgrims.

Outside the east gate of the city there was a monastery containing fifty monks and a stupa of Asoka, which stood on the spot where Sudâna's son and daughter were sold by the Brahman to whom they had been given in charity to serve as slaves. The monastery and stupa are most probably represented by the ruins of the *Khere Gundai* and *Butsahri* mounds, which stand just outside the east gate of the old city.

To the north of the city at a distance of 1 *li*, or 880 feet, stood the temple of the white elephant palace, which, according to Sung Yun,[1] contained "stone images highly adorned and very beautiful, very many in number, and covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes." Before the temple was a tree called the white elephant tree, from which the temple took its origin and name. Within the temple there was a picture of Prince Sudatta with his wife and children begging from a Brahman, which drew tears even from the Tartar conquerors. From Hwen-Thsang we learn, as might readily have been guessed, that this temple occupied the spot where the prince had taken leave *of the people, after being expelled from* the city for giving away in charity to the Brahmans the great elephant belonging to his father. The place was to the north of the town, and was marked by a stupa. This site I take to be the long low mound indicated by G in the map[2] at a short distance to the north of the Gel Pass. It is on the side of the road direct from the city leading to the cave in the mountain of Kâramâr. Around it stood fifty monasteries.

At 20 *li*, or 3¼ miles to the north-east of the town, stood Mount Dantalok,[3] about which were several holy places. One of these was the spot where the prince had given his son and daughter to a Brahman; this was marked by a stupa. Another was the scene of the flogging of the two children by the merciless Brahman, when their blood reddened the earth. All the ground in this part is quite red, and in January I found that the trees and plants were

[1] Beal's Sung-Yun, p. 201.
[2] See Plate III for this position.
[3] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, II, p. 123.

generally of a reddish brown colour. A third was the cave, hewn from the rock, where the prince and his wife gave themselves up to meditation. Sung-Yun[1] places the rock-cave of Sudatta to the south-east of the crest of Mount *Shen-Chi*, or the hill of "Illustrious Charity." He adds that it had two chambers; and that ten paces in front of it there was a "great square *stone, on which it was said the prince* was accustomed to sit."

Mount Dantalok I would identify with the south-western peak of the Kâramâr hill, which is well known to the Afghans by the name of *Mekha-Sanda*, or the "male buffalo." Sanda is no doubt the old name, although it is now a common Hindi term for a buffalo. The name is closely rendered by Sung-Yun in the Chinese syllables *Shen-chi*, where the second syllable represents the cerebral *d* of the Indian alphabet. On the northern slope of this hill I discovered a two-chambered cave, which I have no hesitation in identifying with the two-chambered cave of Sudatta and his family, and there still lies in front of it a great block of stone, 12 feet square, as described by Sung-Yun. Its upper surface is quite flat, but it is not horizontal. It has, perhaps, by the lapse of time, lost its original level by water running beneath it. It is now cracked right across. The only difficulty about this identification is the distance of the cave from the city, which Hwen-Thsang makes 20 *li*, or upwards of three miles, whereas the cave which I discovered is not more than two miles from the present village and only one mile from the nearest point of the old city.

At 3 *li*, or just half a mile to the west of the cave, Sung-Yun places the spot where Indra, in the shape of a lion, concealed *Mankia*, or Madri Devi, the wife of Sudatta. It was commemorated by a stupa, the ruins of which may be identified with the small mound marked H in the map. Both pilgrims speak of the beauty of the valley in which the city was built; and Sung-Yun adds that the soil was a rich loam.[2] This is true of the Sûdam valley, but not of Lûnkhor, where there is much stiff clay. According to Sung-Yun, the city walls had double gates, which is explained by Hwen-Thsang when he speaks of passing "the gate of the outer

[1] Beal's Sung-Yun, p. 194.
[2] Beal's Sung-Yun, p. 200.

walls." [1] The city, therefore, had a double line of walls. Within the city, he adds, there was a heretical temple of ancient date called *Sang-teh*, or, as Mr. Beal suggests, this passage may, perhaps, be rendered "within and without this city; there are very many old temples, which are named *Sang-teh*." This term recalls the name of *Mekha Sanda*, which is at the present day given to the peak above the double-chambered cave. Now, close to the peak of this hill there was a temple of *Po-kin* (Bhagavan) built by the Yakshas, which contained eighty priests. Perhaps *Po-kin Sangteh* may be the Chinese form of *Mekha Sanda*.

At 50 *li*, upwards of eight miles to the north-east of the city, Hwen-Thsang places a high mountain, on which there was a statue in blue stone of the Goddess Bhima, the wife of Maheswara Deva. At the foot of the hill there was a temple of the God himself, to whom the *Pâsupatas*, ash-smeared devotees, paid their devotions. This lofty hill I would identify with the Kâramâr peak, which rises to a height of 3,480 feet above the sea. Its distance from Shâhbâz-garhi is just eight miles, but its direction is rather east-north-east than north-east. I have, however, no doubt whatever that Kâramâr is the peak referred to by the Chinese pilgrim.

I have been disappointed in not being able to discover any notice of this ancient city by the historians of Alexander the Great. That it was a place of importance at the time of his invasion is proved by its selection as the site of one of Asoka's long inscriptions. I have a suspicion that it may be *Bazaria*, of which the *Fosha* of Sung-Yun, represents the first two syllables very closely, and if the middle syllable of Hwen-Thsang's *Po-lu-sha* might be placed at the end, I think that his name might be accepted as a very fair transcript of *Bazar* or *Bazaria*. Arrian's description of Bazaria, as situated upon an eminence and surrounded by a stout wall,[2] agrees so closely with the actual position of Shâhbâz-garhi as well as with the accounts of Sudatta's city given by the Chinese pilgrims that I feel a strong inclination to identify the classical Bazaria, or Bazira, with the *Fosha* and *Po-lu-sha* of Sung-Yun and Hwen-Thsang. Quintus Curtius adds nothing to the account of Arrian, except that Bazira was "an opulent town."

[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang—II, 122, "Quand il eut passé la porte des murs extérieurs."
[2] Anabasis, IV, 27.

The great inscription of Asoka is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shâhbâz-garhi. The greater portion of the inscription is on the eastern face of the rock looking up the hill, but all the latter part, which contains the names of the five Greek kings, is on the western face.[1] The mass of rock is 24 feet long and about 10 feet in height, with a general thickness of about 10 feet. When I first saw the inscription in January 1847 there was a large piece of rock, which had fallen from above, resting against the upper or eastern face of the inscription. At my request this piece of rock had been removed in 1871 by a party of Sappers, and I was thus able to take a complete impression of this side of the inscription. I cleared the ground both above and below the rock, and built level terraces in front of both inscriptions so as to be able to examine with tolerable ease any doubtful portions. The eastern face, though not smooth, presents a nearly even surface, the result of a natural fracture; but the western face is rough and uneven, and the letters, though not much worn, do not afford a good impression. I therefore traced them out carefully with ink for the purpose of taking an eye copy; but the ink was washed out at night by a heavy fall of rain. The same thing happened a second time, but after a third tracing the weather became fair, and I was able to make a complete eye copy as well as an impression of this important part of Asoka's inscription. Every doubtful letter was examined several times in different lights, and was copied by my native assistants as well as by myself, until by repeated comparisons the true form was generally obtained. Under these circumstances I believe that I have secured as perfect and as accurate a copy of this famous inscription as it is now possible to make. As no photographs can be taken of either face of the inscription on account of the slope of the hill, an eye copy, thus checked by an impression, is, I believe, the best possible substitute. I propose hereafter to collate the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription with the Khalsi inscription, as both of these texts are nearly perfect in the important 13th Tablet which contains the names of the five Greek kings, and of several well known districts of India. The

[1] See Plate V for a copy of this part of the inscription.

words of the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription in this part are as follow: from near the beginning of the 9th line—

Antiyoka nama Yona raja, paran cha tena Antiyokena chatura IIII rajani, Turamaye nama, Antikena nama, Maka nama, Alikasandaro nama, nicha Choḍa Panḍa, Avam, Tambapanniya, hevam mevam hevam mevam raja, vishamvidi? Yona-Kamboyeshu, Nabhaka-Nabhamateshu, Bhoja-Pitinikeshu, Andhra-Pulindeshu, savatam, &c. The name of Alexander is written *Alikasandaro*, which agrees with the *Alikyasadale* of the Khâlsi version. Then follow the names of several countries of which not one was recognized by either Norris or Wilson. Of these *Choḍa* and *Panḍa* are the well known Chola and Pandya of early history. *Avam* or perhaps *Avu* may be the country of Ptolemy's *Aii*, an identification which is rendered still more probable by the subsequent mention of *Tambapanniya* or Ceylon. Of the last series of names the *Yonas* and *Kambojas* are well known. Of the *Nabhakas* and *Nabhamatis* (or *Nobhapantis* of the Khâlsi text), I cannot offer even a conjecture, but the *Bhojas* are mentioned both in the Mahabharata and in the Puranas. The name of the *Pitinkas* occurs also in the 5th edict, and is probably the same as the *Padenekayika* of the Bhilsa Tope inscriptions.[1] The last people are the *Andhras* and the *Pulindas.*

This mention is of the highest importance for the ancient history of India, as it proves that the generally accepted chronology which assigns the rise of the Andhras to so late a period as B. C. 21 is undoubtedly erroneous. I had already discovered this error from an examination of the *Kanhari* and *Nâsik* inscriptions of Gotamiputra Sâtakarni and his successor *Pudumavi*, which clearly belong to the same period as the well known Gupta inscriptions. After much consideration of the career of Gotamiputra Sâtakarni, I ventured to suggest that he might be identified with the famous *Sâlivâhan*, or *Sâtavâhan*, which would place him in A. D. 79 instead of A. D. 320, as generally adopted. That this conclusion was well founded is now proved by the mention of *Andhras* in the edicts of Asoka,[2] which carries back the foundation of the kingdom of Andhra from the latter part

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[1] Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, No 140 inscription.

[2] The name of *Andhra*, with the suffixed *r* is very distinct on the rock, and was so copied by Masson, as may be seen in Norris's Plate of the Inscription on the back of the rock in vol. XII of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal.

of the first century B. C. to the earlier half of the third century B. C. If we adopt the amount of correction, which I had already made for Gotamiputra of A. D. 320—78=242 years, then the foundation of the Andhra kingdom will be placed in B. C. 21+242=B. C. 263, or exactly contemporaneous with Asoka.

I am now preparing a reduced copy of the whole of the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription for publication along with the texts of the Khâlsi and other versions of Asoka's edicts. The Khâlsi text is generally in good preservation, excepting only the lower part of the front inscription and the upper part of the side inscription, containing the middle portion of the 13th edict. The Khâlsi text is also important for its separation of the words, and for the frequent use of the sibilant *sh*, which was clearly borrowed from the Arian alphabet. That it was a recent introduction may be gathered from the fact that the same words are carelessly given in both the old and the new forms even in the same edicts as in *pasanda* and *pashanda*, *sususa* and *sususha*, *vasa* and *vasha*, and others. The end of each edict is also distinctly marked by a curved line or bracket. In the copy of the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription on the back of the rock prepared by Norris and Wilson, the uppermost line is omitted altogether, their first line being my second line, so that I have 14 lines altogether instead of 13. This upper part, however, has so many gaps in it that it does not promise to be of much service in recovering the missing text of the first-half of the 13th edict. But the latter half is in very fair preservation, fully equal to that of the *Khâlsi* text. Thus fortunately, for the purpose of comparison, we now possess two good versions of the most important part of Asoka's inscriptions preserved in the widely different characters of Ariana and India.

The Arian version is of special value in determining the true reading of many words in the Indian version, partly from its possession of the three sibilants, and partly from its use of the attached *r*.

The value of the last is best seen in the important name of *Andhra*, which Wilson read as *Andha*, although he had observed that the Shâhbâz-garhi text "departs less from the Sanskrit than the other, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *priya* instead of *piya*," to which he might have added *br* in *Bramana*, *sr* in *Sramana*, and other equally distinct

examples. The three sibilants are found together in the word *sususha*, which is written simply *sususa* in all the Indian versions excepting some parts of the Khâlsi text, where the *sh* is used of nearly the same form as the Arian letter. The same letter is also found in the word *vasha*, year which replaces *vasa* of the Indian texts, and in the plural forms of *Kamboyeshu* and *Pulindeshu*, which take the place of *Kabojesu* and *Pulindesu* of the other versions.

But the most remarkable departure from the Indian texts is the use of the vernacular word *baraya* for twelfth, instead of the Sanskrit *dwâdasa*. This word occurs twice in the inscription, near the beginning of the 3rd and towards the end of the 4th edict. Strange to say it remained unrecognized by Wilson, who simply remarks, "in place of *dwâdasa*, twelve, and *vasa*, year, the inscription has *baraya vasha*, but the first must be wrong." Of the second example, he says that "there is a blank instead of the number," although Norris's Arian text has the letters for *vara* + *vasha* quite distinct, while his English transliteration gives *va rana vasha*; by thus separating *va* from the following letters it seems that Norris also failed to recognize the true vernacular *baraya* for "twelfth."

I observe that the word *chatura*, "four," in the 13th edict, is followed by four upright strokes thus, ||||, in the Shâhbâzgarhi text, and that the corresponding word *chatura*, 'four,' in the Khâlsi text, is followed by an upright cross, thus +, which must therefore be the old Indian cypher for 4. This form was afterwards modified to a St. Andrews' cross, or ×, in which shape it was adopted by all the people who used the Arian characters, as may be seen in the different inscriptions of the kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Gondophares, and of the Satrap Liako-Kujulaka. Previous to the adoption of this Indian symbol, the cyphers of the western people would seem to have been limited to single strokes, as the words *pancheshu pancheshu*, "every five," are followed by five upright strokes, which precede the words *vasheshu*, 'years.'

Before leaving the city of Sudatta both Sung-Yun and Hwen-Thsang notice the house of a famous Rishi in the middle of the valley. Hwen-Thsang gives no details, but the place could not have been far from the cave, as Sudatta is said to have taken exercise close to it. Sung-Yun calls the

Rishi *Uh-po*, and adds that the king of the country dedicated a chapel to him, with a statue of the Rishi, which was ornamented with much gold leaf.[1] This notice is of some importance, as we learn from it that statues were actually dedicated to holy men as well as to Buddha, and I infer therefore that chapels may also have been dedicated to kings.

TAKHT-I-BAHI.

On leaving the city of Sudatta, Hwen-Thsang states that he made about 100 *li*, or nearly 17 miles, to the north-west from the Rishi's house, and crossing a little hill he reached a great mountain, to the south of which there was a monastery containing a few monks who studied the *Maháyána*. Near it was a *stupa* built by Asoka on the spot where the Rishi Ekasringa had formerly lived. The only notice of this holy man is that he lost his divine powers through the seductive arts of a courtesan, who actually persuaded him to carry her on his shoulders through the town.

The bearing and distance of the high hill almost exactly agree with that of the Takht-i-Bahi mountain, measured from Shâhbâz-garhi. The monument of the Rishi Ekasringa with its neighbouring monastery I would identify with the great stupa of Sahri Bahlol, which was opened by Dr. Bellew, and the monastery attached to it. As nothing is said about any monuments on the high hill itself, I conclude that the Buddhist establishments on Takht-i-Bahi had already been abandoned before the time of Hwen-Thsang's visit.

The hill of Takht-i-Bahi forms three sides of an oblong square, of which the north face is open, and the south is formed by the highest ridge of the hill, which is very nearly straight. About half-way between the two long ridges, which form the east and west sides of the square, there is a shorter ridge or spur, which runs almost directly north from the crest of the hill. The ruins of Bahi occupy this centre spur and two other shorter spurs to the east of it, as well as the main ridge, including the highest peak at the south-west corner of the square, to which alone the name of *Takht* or "seat" properly belongs. The religious buildings which are

[1] Beal's "Chinese Pilgrims," p. 196.

by far the most interesting portion of the ruins are nearly all confined to the three shorter spurs or ridges, the mass of the buildings along the crest as well as on the other two ridges being apparently private dwellings, from one to three and even four storeys in height.[1]

The hill of Takht-i-Bahi is situated 28 miles to the north-east of Peshâwar, and eight miles to the north-west of Mardân. It is an isolated hill, forming the extreme end of the long broken ridge which separates the valleys of Lûnkhor and Sûdam. Its height above the sea is 1,771 feet according to the latest maps, or about 570 feet above the plain, assuming the general level of the Yusufzai basin to be 1,200 feet. According to my estimate, the spur on which the religious buildings stand is rather more than one-half of this height, or about 300 feet above the plain.

The ruins on Takht-i-Bahi have been described at some length by Dr. Bellew[2] and even more minutely by Sergeant F. H. Wilcher of the Sappers and Miners, who superintended the excavation of the religious buildings early in 1871.[3] The remains on the crest of the hill are thus described by Dr. Bellew :[4] "These ruins are very extensive, and still in very good preservation. They occupy the crest and northern slope of the Takht-i-Bahi, a spur which projecting westward from the Pâja ridge, traverses the plain for several miles, and separates the valley of Lûnkhor from that of Sûdam. The ruins occupy the western end of this ridge, which is a bare ledge of grey mica and quartz schists, about three hundred feet above the plain, and cover about a mile of surface along a central crest between terminal eminences on the east and west. On these are the boundary buildings of the city, the rest are on the intervening crest, and the ridges sloping down from it to the plain on the north. The hollows between these ridges are the natural drains of the hill.

"The buildings on the eminences flanking the city on the east and west appear to have been positions of observations and defence; for, from their elevation, they completely

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[1] See Plate VI for a map of the Takht-i-Bahi hill.
[2] Report on Yusufzai by Dr. Bellew—Lahor, 1864.
[3] Report on excavations made in the Yusufzai District from January to April 1871—Manuscript.
[4] Report on Yusufzai, pp. 125-127.

overlook the city and command an extensive view of the country around. They are compact square blocks, with rooms opening inwards on a central court. The walls are now only 4 or 5 feet above the surface, but they are very substantial, everywhere 4 feet in thickness. Close to these blocks of buildings are two or more deep cellars of masonry entered by a small opening in the roof, which is a very flat dome. They appear to have served as grain stores. In these buildings we could discover no remains of idols or sculptures.

"On the crest of the hill, and between the two flanking heights just alluded to, is a succession of detached quadrangles, the massive walls of which are still from 6 to 8 feet high and about 40 feet each way. Along the inner side of each wall is a series of small compartments, each opening by a doorway into the courtyard in the centre.

"Close to each of these quadrangles, and only a few paces distant, is a well defined circular mass of masonry raised about 2 feet above the surface, and about 14 feet in diameter. The débris around is rich in fragments of idols, and carved slabs of slate; and beyond these are the indistinct remains of a wall enclosing the circular platform in a square. These circular platforms are probably the ruined and excavated foundations of former topes, whilst the adjoining quadrangles were the monasteries of the monks devoted to their care and services.

"From their position these quadrangles (there are five or six of them along the crest of the hill) command an extensive prospect of all the country around.

"Their ruins in part are still discernible from the plain on the south of the hill, and in their perfect state they must have been prominent objects of attraction from a considerable distance around.

"The southern slope of the hill on which stand these ruins is steep and abrupt right down to the plain. In its upper part are some small detached huts of well-made stone walls, and below these is traceable, at intervals, the line of a causeway that zigzagged to the plain. In some parts it is interrupted by a few steps, and in others has been built up the sides of precipices. In its upper part, for a short distance, the causeway is tolerably entire, and forms a road 4 feet wide, and with an easy ascent,"

The principal religious buildings occupy the lower portion of the central spur. Their several arrangements and connection are shown in the accompanying plan.[1] The outer walls are generally very lofty, being built on the steep slopes of the spur. Some of them thus present a wall from 60 to 80 feet high on the outside, but not more than 20 feet inside. They are generally built of shapeless blocks of stone, with the evenest face downwards, each course being brought to a level by the addition of numerous thin flat pieces. This is the characteristic style of all the old buildings from Kabul to Taxila.

In the accompanying plan I have marked all the principal blocks of building by separate letters for more ready reference. They consist of a *stupa* A, surrounded on three sides by chapels; an open court B, with lofty chapels for colossal statues on three sides; a monastery C, with cells on three sides; and a number of other buildings which will presently be described.

The stupa stands in the midst of an oblong court 56½ by 45½ feet. The basement of the stupa is a square of 20½ feet, diminishing in three stages to 15½ feet, at a height of 8½ feet from the ground. The middle stage is only 9 inches in height; but the lower stage is 3 feet high with 10 pilasters on the side; and the upper stage is 3 feet 4 inches high with 6 pilasters on the side. To the north immediately in front of the entrance to the court there is a flight of steps leading to the top of the basement, to enable the pious to perambulate the stupa itself. The actual body of the stupa could not therefore have been more than 12 feet in diameter and about 20 feet in height, or with its basement not more than 30 feet.

The chapels surrounding the stupa are separate buildings, each 8 feet square externally, with the side towards the court open. On the two longer sides the spaces between the chapels, 2 feet 10 inches broad, were originally open, but these were soon utilized by building a cross wall in the middle of each opening, thus forming a number of smaller chapels open towards the court. I gather from this arrangement that all the larger chapels must have been the gifts of different individuals, and that the smaller ones were

[1] See Plate VII for a general plan of the Buddhist ruins at Takht-i-Bahi.

an ingenious after-thought, each of which would have better suited the slender means of less wealthy persons.

The side walls of the chapels were 1 foot 7½ inches thick, leaving one opening of 4 feet 10 inches, and a depth of 5 feet 6 inches for the interior room. The end of each side wall towards the court was faced with a pilaster crowned by a rich Corinthian capital of acanthus leaves. Each chapel was covered with a high dome of overlapping stones, springing from a circle of broad projecting stones at the level of the pilaster capital. Each dome was 2¼ feet thick at the spring. No example now remains of the mode of covering the opening between the pilasters. I judge, however, from a comparison of the representations of chapels in the sculptures with the few pieces of stone beams now lying about, and with the appearances of the broken domes, that some of them were covered by a horizontal architrave, and others by a trefoil overlapping arch. Externally the dome was much flattened at top, and on the top of it was raised a second smaller dome, resting on a low cylindrical neck. But one of the middle chapels, which is still standing, although much injured, is differently finished, the upper dome having a gable end with a small trefoil opening, the whole being capped with a mushroom pinnacle.

The smaller chapels were covered with semi-domes like niches, the opening to the front having a flat or Egyptian-shaped head, of which one example still remains at Takht-i-Bahi. These Egyptian openings are represented in many of the sculptures, alternating with circular openings, just as in the present instance. In some of the sculptures the interior of the semi-dome is shown as panelled.

These Egyptian-shaped heads would appear to have been forced upon the builders by the converging capitals of the pilasters between which they were placed.

The purpose for which these chapels were intended may be gathered from their sculptured representations, as well as from the remains of statues and sculptures which have been found lying in front of them. From these sources we learn that all the larger chapels must have contained single figures of Buddha, either sitting or standing, and either alone or accompanied by two or more auditors. Many of them were dedicated to the memory of holy men, or of powerful kings, whose statues were enshrined in them, as I have already

shown in the case of the Rishi Ekasringa, which I have quoted from Hwen-Thsang. No statues were found *in situ* at Takht-i-Bahi, either by Dr. Bellew or by Sergeant Wilcher, nor did I find any *in situ* at Jamâl-garhi, but at Sahri-Bahlol I discovered a row of upright statues, at nearly equal distances apart along the base of a wall, which once formed the basement of a line of chapels. In this instance the statues, though not actually *in situ*, were within 1 or 2 feet of their original positions, having apparently been pushed forward by the falling inwards of the chapel walls. The side walls of chapels and probably also the blank spaces in the back walls were ornamented with *alto-relievo* sculptures displaying various memorable scenes in the life of Buddha. These slabs were usually fixed to the walls by large iron nails driven through some sunken portion of the sculpture.

The smaller chapels would have contained smaller statues of Buddha, or of saints or of kings, or perhaps larger scenes in *alto-relievo.* The pilasters also which divided the chapels were frequently sculptured, as we learn by numerous miniature examples.

The chapels as well as the principal statues would also appear to have been gilded, as they are even now in Burma. This was perhaps nearly always the case with the plaster statues, although it is possible that some may have been simply coloured red. I have always found fragments of gold leaf in company with the broken plaster statues. Two of the *alto-relievos* and one of the pilaster capitals found at Jamâl-garhi still retain numerous patches of thick gilding.

In the accompanying plate,[1] I have given both front and back views of the least injured chapels at Takht-i-Bahi: and I have added below a convential representation of similar chapels from one of the Takht-i-Bahi sculptures. Other examples of different sized chapels arranged in a circle will be given hereafter in my account of Jâmal-garhi.

A single chapel of larger size, which may be called a *Vihâr*, will be seen in the general plan[2] to the west of the stupa court, where it is marked by the letter H. It is 10 feet square inside, with walls 2 feet 7 inches thick, and a lofty front opening $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside. The walls, which are still 11 feet in height, are ornamented by two tiers of trefoil

[1] See Plate VIII.
[2] See Plate IX.

panels divided by pilasters. There is nothing to show what was orginally placed in this building; but I conclude that each panel must have contained some piece of sculpture; and that the whole may have surrounded a small stupa placed in the middle of the room. From the stupa court a short flight of steps leads down to an oblong court, marked B, which is surrounded on three sides by lofty chapels, all or most of which, judging from the numerous fragments found in the ruins, must once have held a colossal statue of Buddha in plaster. Each of these chapels, of which there are 29, is a separate and distinct building, entirely open towards the court. None of the roofs now remain, but there can be little, if any, doubt that these chapels were originally covered with domes like those of the stupa court. Some of the walls of these chapels are still from 25 to 30 feet in height, and I conclude that the statues which they once held must have been nearly as lofty. Dr. Bellew mentions that he found fragments of plaster figures which "must have belonged to statues of gigantic size. A hand, a foot, and portion of the head, in this composition, were fully *four times* the natural size." "These huge figures," he adds, "probably occupied positions outside the stupa court," for their fragments are only found outside its limits." Here also the same colossal fragments were exhumed by Sergeant Wilcher. This part of the ruins has not, however, been completely cleared, as the mass of débris was from 10 to 12 feet deep. But the fronts of the chapels were opened out, and all the remains of buildings in the middle of the court were cleared and exposed to view.

The precise use of this "court of colossi" has not been ascertained. It is 116 feet long from east to west and 50 feet broad, and occupies a hollow between the stupa and the monastery of the establishment. From the stupa there is a clear path through this court, 8 feet in width, between small chapels, leading up to the monastery by a short flight of steps. In the eastern portion of the court there is a large raised platform, 38 feet long and 20 feet broad, which is gained by a few steps on the western side.[1] On this side also there are four small platforms, each from 4 to 5 feet square, arranged in pairs facing the large one, one pair on

[1] See Plate VII for the relative positions of these remains.

each side of its steps. Sergeant Wilcher was inclined to think that these platforms were intended for the reception of statues; but according to my experience both of ancient sites and of modern Buddhist establishments in Burma, statues are always placed under canopies, or in niches or chapels. And as Sergeant Wilcher notices that nearly all the figures exhumed in this court had "some provision at the back to fix them to walls," I conclude with some certainty that they must have occupied the recesses or chapels which are still standing on three sides of this court. At first sight I thought that these platforms were the basements of stupas of various sizes, such as may even now be seen around all the great stupas in Burma. This impression I still hold, and the discovery of a similar court at Jamâl-garhi, with several of the small stupas still standing on their basements, leads me to believe that my opinion is correct. Of the four smaller basements I think there can be no doubt; and I would suggest that the large platform of 38 feet by 20 feet might perhaps have held one large stupa in the middle with two small stupas at each end, as I have marked by dotted lines in the plan. As the principal feature in this court is the great number of its *Vihârs* or chapels in the middle as well as along the sides, I have ventured to call it the "*Vihâr* Court."

The only other use to which these platforms might have been applied, would have been as seats for the general meetings of the Fraternity. But as the court is open both to the north and south, their meetings would have been at all times liable to interruption. I believe, therefore, that this was simply the great "*Vihâr* Court" of the establishment, which contained a greater number of chapels and enshrined statues than any other part of the buildings. These number 38 in the present case, and 36 in the similar court at Jamâl-garhi.

This suggestion also seems to be confirmed by the similar junction at Jamâl-garhi of small stupas and chapels in a court entirely surrounded by chapels. I think therefore that the name of "*Vihâr Court*" is an appropriate one.

The largest block of building is the monastery, marked C in the plan. The quadrangle is 62 feet square inside, with 15 cells, each 10 feet in depth, arranged on three sides. The two corner cells are somewhat longer than the others, but

of the same depth. In the south-east quarter of the square there is a tank for water which was probably filled by drainage from the roofs of the cells. Near the middle of the blank wall on the eastern side there is a door leading into a small court 20 feet square, marked D. To the north this has two doors, one leading to a room or cell 10 feet by 12 feet and the other to the outside of the building. To the south there is a single door leading into a court 32 feet by 30, marked E, and to the east there is a single door leading to the outside, where two projecting buttresses in the corner look as if intended for the latrine of the establishment. I saw nothing that suggested what might have been the use of E, but I conjecture that it may have been the kitchen or cooking place of the monastery. The roofs of the cells no longer exist, but I saw no reason to doubt that they were originally covered with overlapping domes, which have fallen in.

The size of this monastery is small, but I have little doubt that it originally consisted of two storeys, as would appear to have been the case with most of the dwelling houses. Hwen-Thsang also describes the *Sanghárámas* as having pavilions of two or three storeys at the four corners.[1] They were built, he says, with extraordinary art, the windows and partition walls were painted in different colours, and their beams and architraves were ornamented with fine sculptures.[2] If this monastery was two-storeys in height, it would have held 30 monks, a number which would have found ample sitting room in the large closed court, 50 feet square, to the west of the monastery. Indeed, I look upon the size of the court as affording a very good indication of the number of monks for whose use it was intended, and therefore also of the size of the monastery.

In this south-east corner of the court of colossi or Vihâr Court a few steps lead up to a private passage, on one side of which there are two rooms or cells, marked K in the plan. These may perhaps have been solitary cells for the punish-

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[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, II, 66.

[2] *Ibid* II, 66.—"Les solives et les poutres" means simply the beams and rafters, but if I am right in supposing that the rooms were domed, the only beams would have been over the doors and windows. I found several stone beams of this kind, but they were ornamented with plain dentillated mouldings and not with figures. In the two-storeyed buildings, however, the floor of the upper storey was supported on stone *beams* let into the walls.

ment of refractory monks, but I think it more probable that they were the cells of two of the chief monks of the Fraternity.

The whole number of persons in this monastery would therefore have been either 33 or 34. I conclude that the two separate cells had upper storeys; but I suppose that the Abbot and senior monk may have been allowed two rooms each.

Outside the monastery on the west there is a long narrow passage, only 5 feet in width, which separates the monastery from the western pile of buildings. Of these the most northerly is a large courtyard, marked F in the plan. This is 50 feet square inside with only one entrance, and is surrounded by lofty walls, 30 feet high. There are no traces of any other openings in the walls, nor of any seats or smaller buildings on the ground, which is a grassy level, instead of a confused pile of ruins, such as is found in the other courts. Sergeant Wilcher conjectures that this high-walled quadrangle may have been "a place of cremation or sepulture." From its size, as he justly argues, "it could not have been roofed by any means at the disposal of the people." The only break in the interior of the walls is where a few recesses for the small native *chirágh* or oil-lamps have been constructed. This mysterious structure is simply a high-walled quadrangle, 50 feet square, with only one door. It may have been used as a place of cremation, as suggested by Sergeant Wilcher; but in Burma at the present day the bodies of priests as well as those of the people are burned in open places appointed for the purpose. It is possible, however, that on this exposed hill, facing the north, it may have been found necessary to surround the place of cremation with lofty walls to screen the lighted piles from violent gusts of wind. My own belief, however, is that this was the place set apart for general meetings of the Fraternity. The single opening and the high walls would secure privacy, and it seems difficult to imagine any other object for which they could have been intended. The only possible objection that strikes me against this assignment is the want of seats. But the assembled monks may have sat upon the ground, each on his own mat, or on a small stool brought from their cells. Here then I suppose that the monthly meetings of the Fraternity were held for the purpose of

reading the Buddhist scriptures. Here the *Dharma* and *Vinaya* were recited by the Abbot while the assembled monks responded "*Sadhu.*" The small holes in the walls for oil-lamps would only show that some meetings may have been held by night. Extraordinary meetings were, I believe, held at all times when urgency would not brook delay; in such a case for instance as the censure or expulsion of a brother, either for serious neglect or wilful violation of the religious rules. I believe therefore that this was the general meeting hall of the Fraternity.

To the south of this mysterious quadrangle, there is a long open space between two walls, marked G in the plan, which contains a double-row of subterranean vaults divided by a narrow passage. This passage is continued to the south for a distance of 50 feet, where it joins another vaulted passage, which descends towards the west in the direction of the valley. From the point of junction also, an open passage, marked K in the plan, ascends towards the east for a distance of 35 feet, in the direction of the stupa. This double row of vaulted rooms, ten in number, I take to have been the store-rooms or granaries of the establishment. They were accessible from the country below by the vaulted passage just described, and from the monastery by the open passage. These vaults were first entered by Dr. Bellew, who describes them as low, dark, arched cells, about 8 feet square and 5 feet high. He also states that "the proper and original entrances to the subterranean passages, of which there are three or four, if not more, under these buildings, are by separate arched openings on the western slope of the spur, some feet below the level of its upper surface. Amongst the heaps of débris covering the surface of this slope it was impossible to trace any pathway to these entrances."

The great number of private dwellings, which are still standing on the hill of Takht-i-Bahi, show that the place must once have been of some consequence. Most of the houses are two-storeyd, the access to the upper storey being invariably on the outside. In some cases the steps were mere projecting stones inserted at intervals in the outside wall; but, in most instances there was a substantial flight of steps, supported on a pointed arch of overlapping stones. In one case I found a much more elaborate staircase, which

occupied three sides of a room upwards of 10 feet square.[1] But under each flight there was the same pointed arch as in the smaller staircases.

Most of the private houses which I saw consisted of two rooms, from 10 to 12 feet square, placed one above the other. But Dr. Bellew, who has several times visited these ruins when they were in a more perfect condition, states that "in positions where there is a sufficiency of level surface they are in the form of quadrangles, with rooms along each side opening into a central court-yard."[2] At present we see only bare walls; but, as we learn from Hwen-Thsang, the private dwellings of the people were ornamented inside, and were covered with a plain coat of plaster outside.[3] In accordance with this description, Dr. Bellew notices that "over all was applied a thick coating of coarse gravelly mortar, patches of which still cling to the walls in many places." This fact I observed myself, and I find also that it did not escape the notice of Sergeant Wilcher.

The walls of the houses are built of uneven blocks of stone, very carefully laid so as to present a tolerably smooth surface outwards, the interstices of each course being filled up with thin flat pieces to bring them to a level. Dr. Bellew remarks that "no mortar seems to have been used to bind them together;" but Sergeant Wilcher, who excavated the ruins, describes the walls as "built of stones quarried on the spot, small wedges or slips of similar material being inserted to ensure accurate fitting, which is further provided for by the pouring in of a kind of liquid mud." It seems most probable, therefore, that a thin mud mortar was used, at least in some buildings, to fill up the interstices inside the walls, while the exterior was invariably covered with a coating of lime mortar mixed with sand.

The doors of the private dwellings were generally low, many of them being only 4½ feet in height. The rooms would therefore have been very dark; but the use of windows, which are also noticed by Hwen-Thsang, would appear to have been very general. Sometimes these were placed just over the door, but more usually in the opposite wall just under the roof. In the latter case, the sill or lower edge

[1] See Plate VIII for a plan and section of this staircase.
[2] Report on Yusufzai, p. 124.
[3] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, pp. 66-67.

was bevelled from the outside downwards, so as to distribute the light over the room. A specimen of this kind will be seen in the plan and section of the single chapel to the west of the stupa.[1] In the winter I suppose that these small windows were covered with a sheet of thin paper to keep out the wind, in the same way that the large openings of wooden trellis-work are now covered in Kashmir for the same purpose.

The name of *Bahi*, or *Bahai*, which means a *reservoir* or *baori*, has been applied to the hill on account of its possession of two small artificial tanks. One of these on the very crest of the hill is about 8 feet square and regularly built, but it is now nearly filled with débris. The other is a few yards below the crest on its northern face at the western end of the city.[2] It is about 14 feet square and 20 feet deep, and is excavated out of the solid rock.

The Hindus of the present day refer these ruins to Raja *Virât*; but this name has only been adopted since the British occupation, when the sepoys of India carried the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata across the Indus. Before that time the people knew only Raja *Vara*. Even now the Muhammadans repeat the name of *Vara*, as they have not been influenced by any superstitious reverence for the authority of the great Hindu epics. Fortunately this district was visited by General Court as well as by myself, before the advent of the Indian sepoy in the spring of 1849. Thus General Court, writing in 1836, says:[3] "To the north-east of *Hashtnagar* is the mountain of *Behhi*, standing alone on a vast plain; and close to it are the ruins of an ancient castle, which is attributed to Raja *Vara*, and which, according to the traditions of the inhabitants, was the dwelling of the ancient sovereigns of this country." The same name of *Vara* was given to me in January 1848, when I first visited Nogrâm and Shâhbâz-garhi. But General Abbott, writing in 1854, and on the Indian side of the Indus, where he derived all his information from Indians, states that "at Nogrâm in Yusufzai, near Rânida-Gat, is the stable of Raja *Virât*."[4]

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[1] See Plate VII for a specimen of the bevelled window.
[2] Dr. Bellew's Report on Yusufzai, p. 134.
[3] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1836, p. 480.
[4] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, p. 362.

In 1864 appeared Dr. Bellew's interesting and valuable report on the Yusufzais, in which I find that "according to the Hindus in this country, these ruins were formerly the residence of Raja *Bharát* and the Pándu Kings.[1] There is no doubt that the name of Raja *Virát* is *now* widely known, as I often heard it myself from the Hindu goldsmiths and baniyas during my late visit to the Yusufzai district in January 1873. I have brought the name of Raja *Vara* thus prominently forward, because I believe that it may have some connection with the famous Aornos of Alexander, and perhaps also with the *Po-lu-sha* of Hwen-Thsang.

The probable age of these ruins I will discuss hereafter when I come to describe the various inscriptions which have been found in the Yusufzai district.

SAHRI-BAHLOL.

The ruins of Sahri-Bahlol were discovered by Dr. Bellew, who has given a general description of the place, with a full and interesting account of his own explorations. Sahri-Bahlol is situated in the open plain just 2½ miles to the south-south-east of the crest of Takht-i-Bahi. The principal feature of the place is great central mound, which now represents all that remains of some old city. This mound is 1,200 feet in length from east to west, with a mean breadth of about 600 feet, and a height of 90 feet.[2] It was surrounded with a stout wall, which still remains in very good order along nearly the whole of the north face, and which I traced in several other places by superficial excavations. The northern wall was cleared by Dr. Bellew,[3] who describes it as rising "straight up from the level of the plain, and built with surprising neatness and accuracy of slabs of the mica schist of the neighbouring Takht-i-Bahi hill." In each of the four faces there was a gateway. The remains of the northern gateway were cleared by Dr. Bellew, but the positions of the others are well defined by deep depressions flanked by ruined walls. On the western face the mound extends for a further distance of 600 feet, but this portion,

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[1] Report on Yusufzai, p. 136.

[2] See Plate XI for a map of Sahri-Bahlol and its neighbourhood.

[3] Report on Yusufzai, p. 136. Dr. Bellew by some inadvertence says that he cleared the west face; but that face is still buried in débris, while the north face is cleared. A similar mistake of ninety degrees occurs again in his account of Sahri-Bahlol.

which I take to have been a suburb of the city, is not more than 30 to 35 feet in height. The whole circuit of the city was somewhat under one mile, and its area about 1,000,000 square feet, which would have been sufficient for a population of about 3,000 in time of peace, and of double that number in time of war. But as the place is completely surrounded with a number of ruined mounds, the remains of Buddhist temples and monasteries, I would estimate the whole population at not less than 4,000 persons.

The city itself does not appear to have been occupied by any religious establishment, as Dr. Bellew, who examined the place carefully and made numerous excavations, states that "there are no signs of any idol temple or other religious edifice amongst this mass of ruins, nor are idols or sculptures found in their débris." [1] All the old houses which I excavated consisted of small rooms from 10 to 12 feet square, such as might have been roofed with overlapping domes, Precisely similar buildings appear to have been met with by Dr. Bellew, who notes that "the buildings on this mound are arranged in quadrangles, with small chambers opening from each side on to a central court-yard, on one side of which is an entrance gateway." [2]

There are several circular pits on the top of the mound, which look like old wells half-filled with rubbish. One of these 8 feet in diameter was cleared by Dr. Bellew, who found a slate pavement at a depth of 18 feet. "This was removed, and the excavation carried down to 45 feet below the surface." Down to the slate floor the sides of the well were protected by a stone wall in good preservation. "Below the flooring there was no masonry, but the earth was compact and hard, and intermixed with it were fragments of red pottery and stone." Beneath the pavement was found a sitting figure of Buddha. This dry well was therefore a common grain pit, such as is now in use all over Northern India. The figure of Buddha deposited under the floor shows that the baniya who made the pit must have been a Buddhist. But the most curious result revealed by Dr. Bellew's excavation is the fact that the soil beneath the pit was an accumulation of rubbish to a depth of 27 feet. The mound was

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[1] Report on Yusufzai, p. 137.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 137.

therefore not less than 45 feet in height when Buddhism was still flourishing in this district, or not later than A. D. 300. If the accumulation of rubbish be calculated at 1½ foot per century, which is the approximate rate ascertained by excavations at Multan, then the site of Sahri-Bahlol must have been occupied as early as 3,000 years before A. D. 800, or about 2,000 B. C. The same date may be derived from the present accumulation of 60 feet, if calculated at the same rate of 1½ foot per century. At the present day the site of Sahri-Bahlol offers no advantages to a settler, except its old wells, which must have been dug by the original occupants, or some of their early successors. But in ancient times, I believe that a large lake or swamp must have existed on the south side of the position, as the ground is low, and shows the usual traces of land subject to inundation. Dr. Bellew, speaking of the ground rather more to the east, says that "it has the appearance of having been formerly very marshy, for there are still stagnant pools in the vicinity, and the surface level is very low."[1] From the general appearance of the country, I think it possible that the Kâbul River may once have flowed from Chârsada in a north-east direction towards Sahri-Bahlol and Mardân, and from thence by Turu down the broad bed of the Bagiârai-Khor, or present Turu River, to a point below Noshehra. This course of the Kâbul River would account not only for all the marshy ground about Sahri-Bahlol itself, but also for the broad swampy bed of the present Bagiârai River below Turu. It would also account in the most satisfactory manner for the much more swampy state of this part of the district in the time of Baber, as the deserted bed of the river must have become drier every year since the stream forced its new passage through the hills at Noshehra. Sahri-Bahlol, or the "City of Bahlol," is of course a comparatively modern name, and most probably refers to some Afghan Bahlol, who re-occupied it after its first desolation by the Muhammadans.

The old city is completely surrounded by a number of ruined mounds of all sizes. On the south side there are only a few small mounds on the edge of the low ground; but on the other three sides the mounds of ruins are numerous, and many of them are large and conspicuous.

[1] Report on Yusufzai, p. 140

The most extensive mounds are on the west side, where the largest is not less than 1,000 feet in length and 700 feet in breadth, with a height of about 35 feet. But this, as well as the other mounds on the west, shows no traces of public buildings. On the north and east sides all the lower mounds have been ploughed over, and to the drivers of the plough I was indebted for many of the discoveries which I was able to make at Sahri-Bahlol.

The only conspicuous ruin is a lofty hemispherical mound 30 feet in height, situated just half a mile to the east, or a little to the south of east, from the nearest point of the old city.[1] This mound is called *Dhamámi*, and its unusual shape at once suggests an artificial origin. On examination I found that it was a stupa standing in a quadrangle of chapels, about 250 feet square, with a monastery 200 feet square attached to its east side. This stupa and the ruins connected with it were excavated by Dr. Bellew, with the following results:—

"The tope is a bluntly conical tumulus, 34 feet high, and with a flat circular surface above, about 16 feet in diameter. The base all round is completely enveloped in a dense layer of rubbish and loose stones, amongst which are found fragments of idols.

"In examining this structure, the débris was removed on the east side, and a cutting on the level with the plain carried right through the whole substance of the tumulus to its centre. The mass throughout was composed of great slabs of the slaty rock of the adjacent hills, placed one above the other in intervening layers of clay and lime.

"The outline of the tope is circular at the base, where are two ill-defined bands, one above the other, and 3 feet each in depth and width. Above these the tope appears to have been a thick circular column surmounted by a domed mass, which, like the whole of the building, is of solid masonry.

"In the centre of this tope, and on a level with the ground, an oblong cavity, lying north and south, was dug into. Its sides were formed of loose stones, partly fallen in, and covering a quantity of ashes and fine dust, that gave out a musty odour of the grave, and small bits of charcoal.

[1] Dr. Bellew, in his report, p. 139, at 800 yards to the *south*; but here again the direction is just 90 degrees in excess of the true bearing

On turning over these contents, a very strong sepulchral smell was noticed, and presently discovered to proceed from a quantity of human and other bones, all more or less broken up and crumbling.

"From the corners of the cavity a few live toads hopped out; and an idol, twenty inches high, was also found. It represents a man in the standing position, and is better carved than the generality of figures met with, from which it also differs in many points. The hair was long, wavy, and in curly ringlets hung over the shoulders, a double necklace of beads hung in front of the chest, and the body is enveloped in loose folds of drapery, like a sheet wrapped round the loins, and thrown over the shoulders. Both hands and feet were broken off, and the fragments were not discovered. The bones were recognized as portions of a human skeleton, mixed up with the rib bones of the cow or horse, the leg, wing, and breast bones of various birds, of which the skulls of the common fowl, kite, sand-grouse, and owl were recognized. There were, besides, the skulls and bones of the common rat, and an animal of the same species, though much larger in size. All these remains are now in the Peshâwar Museum.[1]

"About 3 feet above the grave just described, and imbedded in a hard layer of clay, was found a second human skeleton. It lay full length, with the head to the south and feet to the north. In the process of extraction the bones crumbled to powder; but the right hand and right knee, some left ribs and the left foot, some of the lower bones of the spine, and portions of the hip bones, were recognized '*in situ*.' From this grave to the top of the centre of the tope is a height of 34 feet.

"The tope thus explored stands in the centre of a court-yard, about 120 feet each way. Along each wall are the remains of a series of chambers; those at each corner are larger and project outwards. The walls of this enclosure are still between 1 and 3 feet high.

"Contiguous with the southern wall is a square mound, some 12 feet high, and covered with weeds and thorny bushes. On excavating it a wall was soon come upon; and, following

[1] The small statue has since been removed to the Lahor Museum, where I was able to recognize it from Dr. Bellew's minute description.

the course of this, a complete quadrangle, with chambers all round, was in time exposed to view. These rooms all open on to a central court-yard, raised about 8 feet above the plain.

"Outside each corner of the quadrangle is a circular platform continuous with the walls of the quadrangle.

"This building was probably the monastery or Vihâra of the monks attached to the service of the adjoining tope. Several curious relics were found in its different chambers. In a small arched recess in the wall of one room was found a small urn of red pottery, full of cinerised human bones; in others were found agate and slate beads, fragments of red pottery, as bowls, water vessels, lamps, and figures moulded of the same materials, as bullocks, horse-and-rider, &c., also a metal nose or earring, a wristlet, pieces of iron spits, and a little bell like those used by Hindus in their devotions. Besides these, was found a very remarkable plate of copper.

"It consists of a circular wreath of olive? leaves surrounding a Maltese cross. In each compartment thus formed is a circular disc of copper; at the base of the wreath is a projecting band, slit transversely, as if for the passage of a ribbon, by which the whole was suspended.

"In an apartment on the north face, was found an idol figure, nearly 8 feet high, carved out from a single slab of blue slate. It stood on a granite pedestal, placed on the ground 6 feet below the level of the other rooms.

"On this pedestal, and at each side of the feet, which were destroyed, we found, exactly as they had been left, two common chirâghs; one of them was blackened at the tip by the wick that had burnt out at the socket. The idol is supposed to represent one of the Pandu kings. The hair is frizzled and gathered into a top knot; the ears are elongated and pierced for ornaments; the *tika* is above the root of the nose, the tip of which has been knocked off; the right arm beyond the elbow is missing. This limb, it appears, had been joined on to the rest of the figure in the flexed position, for there are a number of holes in the folds of drapery above and below on this side for the reception of the binding pegs.

"The left hand hangs by the knee, on which rests the weight of the body.

"The whole figure is enveloped in a sheet thrown over the shoulders and brought across the chest. The folds of this drapery are very cleverly done, whilst every crease and fold is accurately carved, the contour of the body it covers is distinctly perceptible."

The statues above described, along with all the other relics, were sent by Dr. Bellew to the Peshâwur Museum, from whence they have since been removed to the Lahor Museum.

The two statues I have recognised from Dr. Bellew's description; and from their long hair and moustaches, I take them to be the figures of kings, or laymen of rank, who had been benefactors of this particular establishment.

Both of the figures have lost their feet. This mutilation might have been expected in a statue exposed in an open chapel of the monastery; but it is difficult to account for the mutilated state of the small statue which was found imbedded in the solid mass of the stupa. The only explanation which I can think of, is that the tope may be of late age, say 500 or 600 A. D., after the first persecution of Buddhism by the Saiva kings of the Little Yuchi, when the zeal of first converts had long since died away, and the growing indifference of the people no longer required the manufacture of new statues.

Under such circumstances, I can readily suppose that the builders of the tope may have deposited any piece of Buddhist sculpture that came to hand, just as Brahmans at the present day will set up and worship any statue which may be found, caring little for its state of mutilation, and still less for its possible connexion with Jainism or Buddhism.

I have already suggested that Sahri-Bahlol may be the city mentioned by Hwen-Thsang, where the Rishi Ekasringa had resided before the time of Asoka.[1]

The place described by the pilgrim was situated to the south of a high mountain which was 16 miles to the north-west of *Po-lu-sha*, or Shâhbâz-garhi. It possessed a monastery and a stupa erected on the spot where the Rishi had lived. In all these particulars Sahri-Bahlol corresponds very closely with the description of Hwen-Thsang. The high mountain I would identify with Takht-i-Bahi, from which Sahri-Bahlol lies south 2½ miles. The stupa and monastery

[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, II, 123.

excavated by Dr. Bellew I would identify with the stupa and monastery seen by the pilgrim. The name by which the ruins are now known, *Dhamâmi*, seems to be an old one, and if so, it probably refers to the Saint, or Rishi, Ekasringa. I take *Dhamâmi* to be derived from the Sanskrit *Dharmmatman*, a "saint," which in Pâli would lose both the *r* and *t*, although the Pâli form of *atman*, according to Vararuchi,[1] is not *amma*, but *appa*, which would make *Dhammappa*.

About 700 feet from Dr. Bellew's tope, and a little to the west of north, there is a long low mound, not more than 6 feet in height, which is ploughed over annually. It is only known as "Misri's field" from the name of the present owner. From him I learned that pieces of sculpture were frequently turned up by his plough, and that several statues had been seen beneath the soil.

The field had already been sown with wheat, but as the owner was willing to take compensation for the loss of his seed, I began an excavation at once on the spot pointed out by himself on the west side of the mound. There was a hollow in the north side, from which the owner said a "Sahib," most probably Dr. Bellew, had taken several statues. Here also I dug, but without any success. On the west side, however, no less than ten statues were discovered, several of them in an upright position, and all of them in one line at the foot of a wall. On clearing a part of this wall, I found that it was a basement which had once supported a number of separate chapels. The distance between the two extreme figures of the ten, both of which were upright, was 84 feet 8 inches, which makes the mean space between each pair of figures 9 feet 5 inches. Each chapel, therefore, may have been 8 feet square with an interval of 1½ foot, which is rather larger than those of the northern range of chapels at Takht-i-Bahi.

All the ten statues thus discovered were figures of Buddha, either seated or standing. Two of them were colossal; the others life size and half size. Along with them were found two broken *alto-relievos*, one head of a king, with moustache, long hair, and a tall head dress, besides numerous fragments of statues and smaller sculptures, and several plaster heads, and plaster lions. The niches or chapels were plastered;

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[1] Lassen Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, p. 85

but the semicircular hood of the upper dome of a central chapel was of stone, and of larger size than the single example now existing at Takht-i-Bahi. The two *alto-relievos* would also appear to have been of larger size than those found at Takht-i-Bahi, as one of them must have been nearly 3 feet in height, and the other was 22 inches in height and the same in breadth.

The whole surface of the mound was thickly strewn with small pieces of stone and broken pottery, amongst which I found several pieces covered with a black shiny glaze both inside and outside, and a single piece of bowl with a few letters incised on the outside and distinctly legible. These letters are *Maghe-cha* in the upper line and *sa* in the lower line. To the *cha* of the upper line I would add *tura*, thus making "*Maghê chatura*," on the fourth day of *Mâgh*.[1] A whole day's search proved unsuccessful in finding a second piece of this inscribed bowl, but the fact that inscriptions do exist in these ruins should be borne in mind by every explorer, as every fragment is valuable.

This mound was about 125 feet square on the crest, with a lower portion 75 feet in breadth on the west side. I dug trenches at right angles across the middle of it, and in other places, in the hope of finding some traces of the other sides of the quadrangle. But these excavations were unsuccessful, and I was reluctantly obliged to give up the further exploration of this promising site.

A second mound on the north side, marked D in the map, also yielded several broken figures, and a portion of a large *alto-relievo*, which must have been 2 feet in width. This mound was 300 feet in length by 150 feet in breadth, and from 10 to 12 feet in height. There were no traces of walls, but the whole was ploughed over, and the surface was covered with small pieces of stone and some broken pottery. I made some excavations without success, and as the owner of the field could not point out any spot where sculptures had been seen, I gave up all further search.

Most of the other mounds had already been opened, I believe, by Dr. Bellew; but there was a small one, about 5,000 feet from the city on the north side, which appeared to be intact. On the outside there was a square basement of

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[1] See Plate XVI, fig. 6, for a copy of this inscription.

bricks, but the interior was filled with rubble and earth, in the middle of which was found a small pot of red earthenware, only 3 inches in diameter, filled with human bones.[1] I conjecture that this mound was the remains of a small brick stupa, about 10 feet in diameter, which had long ago been pulled down to furnish materials for one of the houses in the city.

The only other discovery made at Sahri-Bahlol was a broken *lingam* of white marble. The cylindrical portion was 5½ inches in diameter, which was increased to 7 inches on one side by the projection of a single face of Siva, with his third eye conspicuous on his forehead.[2] This is the only sculptured evidence of the former existence of Brahmanism that I discovered in the Yusufzai district. The numismatic evidence, however, is very abundant in the number of silver and copper coins of Syâlapati Deva and Sâmanta Deva, bearing the bull of Siva, which are constantly being found, and which are procurable in every bazar in the country.

On one of the northern mounds close to a large old well I found a seven-inch lotus flower very boldly carved out of a block of kankar.[3] It had once been plastered. I presume that it was a projecting boss; but a careful search failed to find another specimen or even a second piece of kankar.

I obtained very few coins at Sahri-Bahlol, as the village is very small, containing only a few houses, and possessing only one Baniya. But the few coins brought to me comprised several of the early Indo-Scythians, which are sufficient to show that the place must have been in existence at the beginning of the Christian era. Both Fa-Hian and Sung-Yun describe a famous stupa which was built to commemorate the spot where "Buddha gave his eyes in charity." The former places it at seven days' journey to the west of Taxila,[4] which agrees exactly with the position assigned to it by Sung-Yun in his record of three days west to the Indus, plus three days west to *Fo-sha-fu*, plus one day west to the stupa of the "Eye-gift." According to these accounts, the site of this famous stupa must have been at Sahri-

[1] See Plate XII, fig. 5, for a sketch of this vessel.
[2] See Plate XII, fig. 6, for a sketch of this lingam.
[3] See Plate XII, fig. 7, for a sketch of this flower.
[4] Beal's Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 30, for Fa-Hian, and p. 201 for Sung-Yun.

Bahlol. In this case I would identify it with the great stupa, called Dhamâmi, which was opened by Dr. Bellew. According to Fa-Hian this stupa was enriched with gold and silver. Here also, according to Sung-Yun, there was a temple, of which one stone possessed "the impress of the foot of Kâsyapa Buddha."

JAMÂL-GARHI.

The village of Jamâl-garhi[1] is situated to the south of the Pajâ ridge which separates Lûnkhor from Sûdam, just at the point where the Gadar Rûd breaks through the hills. It is nearly equidistant from Mardân, Takht-i-Bahi, and Shâhbâz-garhi. From the first it bears nearly due north eight miles; from the second it bears east-north-east; and from the last it is nearly north-west.

The Buddhist ruins occupy the top of the hill overlooking the village, and about 500 feet above the plain. The general direction of the buildings lies across the hill from north to south. The style of building is the same as that which has already been described at other places, but the great blocks of building are differently arranged and present many new features which are wanting at Takht-i-Bahi. The general state of both ruins is about the same; but these are on a rather larger scale, and their sculptures are more numerous. They are also generally in a better state of preservation, and several of the statues and capitals show distinct traces of having been richly gilded. The first actual discovery was made by myself in January 1848, during my hurried visit to Shâhbâz-garhi, when I obtained a very fine head of Buddha in excellent preservation. The stupa itself was opened by Colonel Lumsden in 1852, but without any special result, although some very fine broken sculptures were obtained in the enclosure. A man, who had often seen the stupa before it was opened, informed me that it was about 6 feet higher than at present, and that the platform around it had a number of statues upon it, all of which were removed by a Colonel Saheb on twelve camels some ten or twelve years ago.

The accompanying map of the ruins[2] has been reduced from the survey made by Sergeant Wilcher, who was em-

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[1] See Plate II for the map of the Yusufzai District, and Plate XIII for a general plan of the Jamâl-garhi Hill.

[2] See Plates XIII and XIV.

ployed with the 8th Company of Sappers and Miners under the command of Lieutenant Crompton, R. E., in excavating these ruins. During the past cold season I twice visited Jamâl-garhi, and on the second occasion I made some partial excavations within the enclosure marked A, which showed me that this block consisted of a large stupa surrounded with a *circle* of chapels, just as the Takht-i-Bahi stupa was surrounded with a quadrangle of chapels. I traced the enclosing wall all round, and cleared the upper part of the flight of steps leading downwards to an oblong court-yard which was then barely traceable. These partial excavations brought to light so many statues and broken sculptures that I decided upon employing the Sappers in clearing out the whole of the ruins. The result is given in the accompanying map, which shows all the buildings of a complete Buddhist establishment disposed in a series of courts, or blocks of buildings, which differ from those of Takht-i-Bahi in their general arrangement. The most striking difference is the absence of any large monastery, the cells of the monks being scattered over the position in small separate buildings of from one to four rooms each. From this arrangement I infer that many of the smaller buildings outside the monastery at Takht-i-Bahi may also have been the dwellings of monks.

The principal group, marked A in the map, consists of a stupa, 22 feet in diameter, standing on a circular base, and surrounded by a polygonal enclosure of small *vihârs* or chapels. The basement of the stupa is the only portion now standing. This is divided into twenty sides or faces, separated by pilasters, with a seated figure of Buddha in each compartment; the whole being executed in coarse stucco, which bears many traces of having once been coloured red. The circular space between the stupa and chapels was paved throughout with large slabs of dark blue slate. The chapels, which formed the enclosure, stood on a continuous basement like that of the stupa itself. This was divided into straight faces of unequal length, according to the size of the chapels above them. Some of these faces were covered with plain stucco; but most of them were ornamented with seated figures of Buddha, alternately Ascetic and Teacher, and smaller standing figures of Buddha between them.

The chapels varied in size from 8½ to 11 feet square. Only the lower parts of the walls now remain, and I did not see a single figure *in situ*; but on clearing the pavement below, I found so many statues lying immediately in front of the chapels, that the conclusion was quite irresistible that these statues must once have stood in the chapels, or niches, above them. I found also several Corinthian capitals of pilasters, which once formed the ends of the side walls of the chapels. These capitals are all of the Indo-Corinthian style, with boldly designed volutes and two tiers of acanthus leaves, deeply and delicately chiselled. Some of them have small figures of Buddha, either sitting or standing, amongst the acanthus leaves, and many of them still preserve the traces of gilding. These capitals are of several distinct sizes, which I suppose may be assigned to the several different sizes of the chapels. Altogether there were 15 large chapels; but in some of the spaces between them small niches were formed by making a cross wall, and covering the space with a flat beam or frieze ornamented with a single line of moulding. One of these small niches will be found in my plan of the great stupa and its enclosure between Nos. 2 and 3 chapels[1]. I found nothing to show how these chapels were roofed, but there can be little doubt that they were covered with overlapping stones, like the chapels at Takht-i-Bahi, and like all the other buildings at Jamâl-garhi itself.

In the accompanying plate, I have given a section of this group of buildings, showing the various chapels completed as I suppose them to have been. The open space between the stupa and the chapels varies from 11 to 12 feet in breadth, but this space was not left empty, as I found a piece of a round *kankar* shaft, 21 inches in diameter, still standing *in situ* on the east side of the stupa, besides numerous pieces of small votive stupas, and of stone umbrellas, varying in size from 2½ feet down to mere toys of 4 and 5 inches. The very same arrangements still exist in Burma, and may be seen on a grand scale in Prome and Rangoon. The court must have been closed by a door, as I found two large flat slabs of kankar lying broken near the top of the flight of steps and pierced with round holes for the working of the tenon pivots of a door.

[1] See Plate XV.—The small openings shown in Nos. 2 and 6 in chapels are in the basement below them. This Plate is from my own measurements.

As the pavement of the floor was complete, I conclude that some portion of the doorway must have been roofed in with these large slabs. The kankar stone is called *kanjur* both here and in the Râwal Pindi District. On the south side a flight of 16 steps led to an oblong court below, marked B in the map, which was surrounded by chapels on all sides. I have, therefore, ventured to call it the "Vihar Court." Lieutenant Crompton states that "a series of sculptures was found *in situ* on the risers of steps," representing various scenes. Some of these sculptures have been broken since their discovery by the bigoted Muhammadan people of the country. The middle of this court is nearly filled with a number of chapels and small stupas, a pathway varying in width from 5 to 10 feet being left all round between them and the side chapels of the quadrangle. There are eight stupas still remaining, and two square basements on which others must once have stood. The largest of these is only 6 feet in diameter, and the smallest 4 feet.

The remains of this court were entirely buried beneath the ground when the excavation was begun by the Sappers. I believe that some of this accumulated rubbish must have been recent, as much of the material of the previous excavations was thrown out on this side, and completely covered the flight of steps. Lieutenant Crompton writes that the sculptures found in this court "were very good and interesting, including many statues of kings, *i. e.*, figures with mustachios and jewels round the neck and upper arm and with sandals on the feet. One of these has a short inscription of seven letters on the nimbus or glory at the back of the head.[1] There were also discovered several half capitals of pillars or pilasters in "excellent preservation, some as large as 2 feet side; no trace of the pillars or pilasters themselves." The best preserved specimens of these capitals and of the alto-relievos "had the remains of gold leaf about them, showing that they were once gilt in whole or in part."[2] This *Vihâr* Court is 72 feet long and 33 feet broad, and contains 27 chapels in the four sides, and nine in the middle, with the remains of 10 small stupas.

Near the east end of the south side of the Vihâr Court a flight of 10 steps leads down to a small court which is now

[1] These letters appear to be *Saphae Danamukha*.—See Plate XVI, No. 8.
[2] Letter of Lieutenant Crompton, R. E., dated 7th April 1873.

open towards the east. On the west it is closed by a row of four chapels. There are two more chapels on the south side, and a single isolated chapel on the east side. In the middle there are three small square basements, the remains of small stupas. This court being the lowest part of the position, the remains of the buildings were deeply buried, and nothing was visible on the surface. Sergeant Wilcher states that the accumulation of débris was from 8 to 13 feet deep. On the south side there is a flight of three steps leading to an oblong court. On the northern flight of 10 steps, leading into the Vihâr Court, many beautiful sculptures were found, most of them gilt, and one in particular, a large pilaster capital, well carved and profusely ornamented.[1] The court itself also yielded several good sculptures.

To the south of the last there is another oblong enclosure of a totally different character. This consists of a block of building 75 feet long and 38 feet broad outside, with three rooms or cells at the southern end, and two niches in the wall of the northern end, which is of the unusual thickness of 6 feet. Between the cells and the niches this court is entirely empty, and shows no traces of any buildings. It is closed on all sides; but there are five small openings in the south wall, overlooking the plains below, and three larger openings on the north wall, of which the middle one leads into the small open court just described by a flight of three steps. The court thus walled in is 54 feet long by 32 feet broad, and is accessible only by the middle opening leading from the small court on the north. There is nothing to show what may have been the use of this court; but its large empty space surrounded by high walls with only one door for access recalls the similar enclosure at Takht-i-Bahi, which was also surrounded by high walls with only a single opening to the outside. I believe, therefore, that this was the meeting hall of the fraternity, where they could assemble either to read their scriptures or to judge a defaulting brother, equally safe from observation or interruption. A reference to the plan will show that a wall only 9 feet high on the north side of this court would have screened the whole assembly from observation from the nearest point of

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[1] Notes in Sergeant Wilcher's map. This capital is 34 inches broad, and is a magnificent specimen of the Indo-Corinthian style of architecture.

the platform of the great stupa. Beneath the floor of this court and on the south side facing down the hill, where the wall is necessarily lofty, advantage has been taken of the slope of the ground to make a row of vaulted chambers, which I conclude must have been the granary of the establishment.

At the north-east corner of this pile of building there is a staircase for access to the top of the wall. The object of ascending this wall is not obvious, but it may have been a commanding point either for calling the brothers together or for watching against interruption.

The most important block of building is situated at a short distance to the north of the great stupa, and is marked E in the plan. This is a small quadrangle, 24 by 21 feet inside, with the basement of a small stupa in the middle 3 feet 2 inches high. Each side had four chapels, except on the west where the place of one chapel was occupied by the entrance door. Outside, on the west, there was a single cell, marked H in the plan, which was separated from the building by a staircase that led up to the roof. From this I infer that there was an upper storey to the cell, and that this was the dwelling of two monks who had charge of the small stupa court. Both Lieutenant Crompton and Sergeant Wilcher record that some very fine alto-relievos were found in this court.

Still further to the west there is a single room, 19 by 12½ feet, marked K in the plan, which is connected with the cell just described by a short wall from which I suppose that it was one of the buildings belonging to the small stupa establishment. It seems too large for a dwelling, and I feel doubtful whether it was ever roofed.

Immediately to the north of the small stupa court there is another isolated building, 17½ by 12½ feet, with unusually thick walls, which would seem to have been a vihâr or large temple. The entrance is on the north, and there are openings for light on the other three sides, one on the west, two on the east, and two on the south. Such openings were necessary and usual in the temples. Lieutenant Crompton thinks that it was "probably the dwelling-house of the priest in attendance;" but the number of windows is decidedly opposed to this suggestion, and I think that it must have been a vihâr or temple, with a large figure of Buddha

at the south end between the two windows and immediately opposite the door, and with smaller figures disposed on the north and south sides. Such an arrangement would require several openings to throw full light on the figures, which would be quite unnecessary in a dwelling-house. It is rather against this conclusion, however, that neither Lieutenant Crompton nor Sergeant Wilcher notice the discovery of any sculpture inside. That the building was roofed I conclude from the presence of the windows, which would otherwise have been unnecessary. But the space of 12½ feet was a large one for the overlapping dome, which in nearly all these Yusufzai examples is limited to about 8 feet, excepting a single chapel at Takht-i-Bahi which is 10 feet square, and which was certainly roofed, as it possesses a window as well as a door.

To the west of the last, and to the south-west of the small stupa court, there is a block of three rooms or cells, marked G in the plan, which are very conveniently situated for the dwellings of monks attached to this stupa. The middle room is 13 feet by 9 feet, and the two end rooms are 9 feet square. There may also have been an upper storey, but this is doubtful.

The only other large building on the top of the hill is a square block to the east of the great stupa, which is marked L on the plan. This building is 35 feet long and 27 feet broad outside, and contains two rooms on the east and two on the west side, each 8 feet square, divided by a passage into which they open. From the great thickness of the walls of this building I conclude that it must have had an upper storey to which access was obtained by a staircase at the end of the passage, which still exists in a ruined state. The position of this building is on a level with the platform of the great stupa. Sergeant Wilcher describes it as "a well built dwelling-house on an eminence commanding the entire ruins."

Due east from the great stupa, and just 100 feet distant from the last building, marked L, stands a still larger pile of ruins, 52 feet by 47 feet, which has not been excavated. This I believe to be another large dwelling-house of two or three storeys, which would have contained not less than 16 or 20 cells for monks. It is quite possible, however, that it may have been the square court of another stupa.

The religious establishment on the hill of Jamâl-garhi was supplied with water by an artificial reservoir in which the rain was collected. This cistern lies to the west of the great stupa, and at the time of my visit in January it still held some water. According to the people it is quite full in the rains, and generally lasts for the greater part of the year. This it may easily do now as there is no one to drink it, except a few shepherds who take their sheep to browse on the hill. Dr. Bellew[1] also notes that at the foot of the hill there is a deep, wide, and substantial masonry reservoir still in good preservation, and always containing water throughout the year."

The ruins at Jamâl-garhi are much more accessible than those of Takht-i-Bahi, as they stand immediately above the high road leading from Suwât, through Kâtlang and Shâhbâz-garhi, to the Indus. But as all the existing buldings are of a religious character, the site was simply that of a large monastic establishment with its topes and vihars, the nearest town being that of Sâwal-dher, distant 2½ miles to the east, which is precisely the same relative position that Sahri-Bahlol bears to Takht-i-Bahi.

Some account of the sculptures discovered at Jamâl-garhi will be given in an appendix, together with a few selected specimens of the Indo-Corinthian capitals and other portions of the exhumed buildings, for the purpose of showing the very rich and beautiful style of architecture which was so extensively used by the Buddhists of the Kâbul Valley about the beginning of the Christian era.

KHARKAI.

Kharkai is a small village in the extreme north of the Lûnkhor Valley, and within three miles of the Suwât frontier. It is equidistant from Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi, being 16 miles to the east of north from the former and the same distance to the west of north from Jamâl-garhi. The ruins have not yet been examined, but from the accounts that I received from Mr. Beckett, the Assistant Commissioner of the Yusufzai District, who had visited the place, they are quite as extensive as those of Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi. I saw a large collection of Kharkai sculptures in Mr. Beckett's

[1] Report on Yusufzai, p. 137.

possession, and I obtained a considerable number myself. These are similar in all respects to the sculptures that have been dug up at other places, but they are said to be very numerous; and as those which I have seen are generally in good condition, the complete excavation of the ruins at Kharkai is very desirable, and will, I hope, be carried out during the ensuing cold season.

The most curious sculptures that I got from Kharkai were three slabs which once formed three sides of a relic chamber or small cell for the deposit of a relic casket. The inner face of each stone bears a figure of Buddha, and the three stones are grooved near the ends so as to fit together accurately. They are also marked with four Arian letters, *a* and *r* on one, *a* on the second, and *de* on the third. It is scarcely possible that these can have been mason's marks required for the proper fitting of the few places of such a simple construction. I think it much more probable that they were intended to record the name of the king or holy man whose relics were enshrined in the receptacle. They may be read as Ara-de (*va*) the common form of *Arya Deva*, which would be the name of some famous saint, as *Arya*, "the venerable" or "the reverend" was a title of great respect which was given only to the most eminent members of the Buddhist priesthood. Now, Arya Deva was one of the most prominent disciples of Nâgârjuna, and a well known leader of the Buddhist church. He was also one of the active propagators of the Mâdhyamika doctrines of his master.[1] As a disciple of Nâgârjuna, his date cannot be placed later than the beginning of the Christian era. As this date accords with that which may be assigned to all the principal Buddhist remains in the Yusufzai District, it seems highly probable that the relic receptacle found at Kharkai must have contained some relics of this famous teacher. The same date is assigned to him by Târanath and the Tibetan authorities, who make him not only the contemporary of Kanishka but also the converter of that monarch to Buddhism.[2] The enshrinement of his relics at Kharkai is thus satisfactorily accounted for by his intimate connection with Kanishka and the countries to the west of the Indus.

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[1] Csoma de Koros in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VII, p. 144; Burnouf's Introd. à l' Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, pp. 447, 560.—See Plate XII, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[2] Vassilief's Taranath, translated by La Comme, pp. 31, 76, &c.

The mason's common practice of marking the stones of a building for their guidance seems to have been generally adopted in Gândhâra. The usual marks are crosses and circles and broad arrows; but at Kharkai I found three stones marked with Arian letters. Two of these, *n* and *b*, were cut in the rough backs of the sculpture; but the third, *j*, is on the upper edge, as if for the purpose of guiding the builder in the proper adjustment of the stone to its neighbours.

SAWAL-DHER.

The remains at Sâwal-dher, 2½ miles to the east of Jamâlgarhi, are mostly covered by the houses of the village and are. therefore, inaccessible. It is believed, however, that some of the finest sculptures in the Lahor Museum were obtained at this place by Dr. Bellew.[1]

NOGRAM.

The small village of Nogrâm is situated just beyond the British frontier, at 22 miles to the east of Mardân and 16 miles to the north of Ohind (or Hoond of our maps). Towering over the village is the steep hill of *Râni-gat*, which derives its name from a tall upright stone standing on the top, that can be seen for many miles around. According to the general belief of the people one of the ancient queens of the country used to sit upon this rock, from whence she could see over the whole plain even as far as Hashtnagar; and whenever any quantity of dust was observed, she knew that several merchants were travelling together, and at once dispatched a body of her soldiers to plunder them.

The ruins on the hill of Râni-gat have already been described both by Löwenthal and by myself.[2] They have been visited by many people, but owing to their position beyond the British frontier not more than half of the existing ruins have been examined, and the excavations in the nearest part have, therefore, been very superficial. I believe, however, that arrangements might easily be made with the Khudu Khels, who are a friendly tribe, for the complete explorations of this very promising site. The walls of the buildings at Râni-gat are quite different from all others in the Yusufzai

[1] Memorandum by Mr. Baden Powell on the sculptures in the Lahor Museum.

[2] See Löwenthal's account in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 5, and my own account in Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II. p. 107

District. They are built of uneven blocks, neatly fitted together by the insertion of small fragments of flat slates. But the walls of the Râni-gat ruins are built throughout of squared blocks of granite, neatly dressed and carefully fitted, and their evident costliness would seem to show that *Râni-gat* must have been one of the principal strongholds of the country. I have previously suggested its identification with Aornos; and I think that my suggestion is a much more probable one than any other that has yet been offered.

The ruins on the Râni-gat Hill have also been visited and described by Dr. Bellew, whose intimate acquaintance with all the old sites in the Yusufzai District and extensive explorations at Sahri-Bahlol and other places give so much weight and authority to his opinions that I am glad to be able to quote his account of the remains on this remarkable site: "They are very extensive," he says, "and differ from those already described only in material, not in general plan or architecture. There are the same pointed arches and underground passages, the same sort of doors and windows, and the same sort of quadrilaterals with chambers, &c. The statuary and sculptures also represent the same figures and scenes, in the same material, a soft blue slate, of coarse texture, but the general aspect of these ruins is very different from that of others. The various structures are built of accurately fitted and carefully chiselled blocks of clean, light-coloured granite, evidently quarried on the spot. *The neatness and accuracy of the architecture is wonderful.* The generality of the blocks of granite measure 3 feet by 2 feet by 1 foot. The scenery on the top of this ridge, in the midst of its ruin and desolation, is most wild and picturesque. Huge rocks rear up amongst rugged walls, and heaps of chiselled stones that cover the surface in most appropriate disorder, whilst scattered clumps of trees and shrubs, forming dark retreats and hiding-places, add to the charms of the scene. Our visit to the Nowagrâm ruins, which are also called those of Râni-gat, from a prominent boulder rising up from their midst, was hasty and incomplete. We did not see the northern end of the ruins at all, but were told that amongst them was a large tumulus encircled by buildings in the debris of which were mixed fragments of sculptures and idols. These ruins are also called Bâgrâm, as well as by the names above mentioned.

"Amongst the ruins we examined we noticed several boulders of rock, the under-surfaces of which had been carved out into domed cavities capable of sheltering from two to a dozen men. They are now used as the cooking and sleeping places of shepherds, who graze their flocks on the rich pastures of this hill."

INSCRIPTIONS FROM YUSUFZAI.

I have reserved to the last my notice of the various inscriptions which have been discovered in the Yusufzai District, as not one of them was found *in situ*, and nothing more is known about them save the bare names of the places of their discovery. I have arranged them chronologically according to the dates recorded in them. I do not presume to offer any translations of them. My sole wish is to make them accessible to scholars, for which purpose I have collected them together in one plate,[1] and, as a possible assistance towards their translation, I will now give my own transliterations of them.

No. 1.—Löwenthal—found at Zeda, dated S. 11 = B. C. 46.

1.—*Sam* 10+1 (=11) *Ashadasa masasa di* 20, *Udeyana gu.* 1 *Isachhu nami.*

2.—*Chanam Uspa Khara daramardakusa* Kanishkasa *raja Gandharya dadabhasa Idadamukhastrape a de asa* (9 *letters*) *putra* (6 letters, the last two being perhaps *puyae*).

3.—*Ruda*, &c., (ending with) *Sangha-mitra sa dânam.*

This inscription, which is engraved on a rough block of quartz, 4 feet long and 1 foot broad, was found at Zeda, near Ohind, by Löwenthal. It is now in the Lahor Museum, where I have repeatedly examined it and have copied the doubtful letters in different lights. It opens in the usual way with the date: "In the Samvat year 11, on the 20th day of the month of Ashada." Then follows the name of *Udeyana*, which I take to be that of the district known as *Udyâna* in Sanskrit; and the following letters, *gu* 1, may perhaps denote the particular portion of the district. At first I read the whole as *Udeyanagara*, for *Udinagar*, a name which is known to all the people on both banks of the Indus, but which is applied to at least three or four different places. The following words—*Isachhu nami*—would seem to have

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[1] See Plate XVI.

been a common phrase of the period, as they are found also in the next inscription immediately after the date.

Some of the letters in the opening words of the second line are rather doubtful, but the name and title of *Kanishkasa raja* are particularly clear and distinct. Then follow some words which I read as *Gandharya, Dadabhasa.* The first name I take to be almost certain, and it is the very name that might be expected, as Kanishka is constantly referred to by the Chinese as King of Gândhâra. Of the remaining portion, the only words that I can read with certainty are the last three, *Sangha-mitra sa dânam* or the "gift of Sanghamitra." This inscription was, therefore, one of the usual records of some gift by a pious Buddhist, as the name of the donor clearly indicates.

No. 2.—Cunningham—from Ohind.

I brought this inscription from the banks of the Indus early in 1848, and deposited it in the Lahor Residency for safe custody; but I am sorry to say that it had disappeared before 1853, most probably to become the curry-stone of one of the Residency servants. I published this inscription in 1854,[1] but I was then unable to read it. I now give another copy of it made direct from one of my paper impressions. The stone is 26½ inches in length.

1.—*Sam,* 20+20+20+1 (=61) *Chetrasa mahasa divasa attamite* 4+4 (=8). *Isachhu nami satirana*
2.— * *eshede.*

The date of this record is the Samvat year 61 (or A. D. 4) on the 8th day of the month of Chaitra.

No. 3.—Bellew—from Takht-i-Bahi.

A notice of this inscription by Professor Dowson has already appeared in Trübner's Literary Record as having been forwarded to England by Dr. Leitner. The stone, itself was discovered by Dr. Bellew, and has been presented by him to the Lahor Museum. We are indebted, however, to Dr. Leitner for bringing it to notice. I have repeatedly examined it in different lights and have made numerous impressions of it, from which, with the aid of a large photograph, I have prepared the accompanying copy.[2] Before

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, p. 705.
[2] Plate XVI, fig. 3.

seeing Professor Dowson's notice, I had read the name of Gondophares, together with the year of his reign, and the name of the month Vesakh, &c., in a small photograph. But an inspection of the stone showed me that there were two distinct dates—the first of which I take to be the year of the king's reign, and the second the Samvat year. As the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether. But the top and bottom lines, and the left hand portion of the three middle lines, are generally in very good preservation. The stone is 17 inches long by 14½ inches broad. I read the legible portions of the inscription as follows:—

1.—*Maharayasa Guduphara sa vasha* 20+4+2(=26).
2.—*Sam* : * * * *Satimae* 100+3(=103) *Vesakhasa masasa divase.*
3.—4 *Imana* * * * *
4.—*Paravata* * * *
5.—*E* * *Naspapa* (blank).
6.—*Pitu puyaë.*

In the first line it wil be observed that there is a rough space in the middle of the king's name. From the appearance of the stone I am satisfied that this gap existed when the record was inscribed. There is, however, the trace of a peculiar flourish still visible in the left half of the broken space, which curiously enough is the very same that is now used by English clerks to denote a blank space when they make an erasure on paper, thus . This coincidence is probably quite accidental; but I consider that it is a very good illustration of the practice of the old Indian masons when they met with a flaw in the stone. I read the opening of the inscription as follows:—

"In the 26th year of the great King *Guduphara*, in the Samvat year three and one hundred (*repeated in figures*) 100+3 (103), in the month of Vaisákh, on the 4th day."

Its last words, *sapuyaë*, *matu pitu puyaë*, "for his own religious merit, and for the religious merit of his mother and father," shows that it is only a simple record of the building of a *stupa* or *vihár* by some pious Buddhist.

This inscription is of more than usual interest, as it is almost certain that King *Guduphara*, or *Gondophares*, of

the coins is the same as King *Gundoferus* of the Saxon *Legenda Aurea*, who is recorded to have put St. Thomas to death. This identification, which is, I believe, generally admitted as certain, although not proved, is of especial value in determining the era that is used in all these inscriptions. I have already assumed that the Samvat of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu-Deva is the same as the present Vikramaditya Samvat of India, as the dates of their inscriptions, if referred to this era, correspond exactly with the known dates which have been ascertained from other sources. The very same inference may be drawn in the present case, as the date of *Samvat* 103, or A. D. 46, will make King Gondophares an actual contemporary of St. Thomas, with whom he is always connected in the ancient legends. According to this view the reign of Gondophares must have begun in A. D. 21, and as his coins are abundant he may be supposed to have reigned for at least 30 years. His death would thus have taken place in A. D. 51, or perhaps a few years later. That Gondophares was a contemporary of the Parthian king Artabanus III we have a distinct proof in some silver drachms of that king which are counter-marked with the peculiar monogram of Gondophares. Now, Artabanus reigned from A. D. 14 to 42, which agrees exactly with the period assigned to Gondophares on the authority of the legend.

There are two distinct versions of the legend of St. Thomas and King Gondophares—the one preserved in the "Legend Aurea,[1]" and the other in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles written by Leucius and his copyist Abdias.[2] In the first version the apostle is said to have converted the sister of the king's wife, named Migdonia, for which he was thrown into prison, and afterwards put to death. In the other version St. Thomas is sold to Gundophares as a slave, and is said to have converted the king himself. He then left Gundophares and went to the country of King *Meodeus*, by whom he was eventually put to death. The scene of his death is said to have been the city of Calamina in India.[3]"

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[1] See Turner's Anglo-Saxons, Vol. II, p. 147, note, and Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. I, pp. 225-6.

[2] See Fabricius' Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, and Yule's Cathay, Vol. II, p. 376 where a short version of the legend is given.

[3] Sophronius C. VIII "Dormivit in civitate Calamina, quæ est Indiæ.

No. 4.—CUNNINGHAM—FROM PANJTAR.

I brought this inscription from the banks of the Indus in 1848, and deposited it along with No. 2 in the Lahor Residency, where it no doubt shared the same fate as the other as it has not been seen since. I published it in 1854, but the date of the reading then given was afterwards corrected by myself;[1] and as the remarks which accompanied my corrected reading apply equally to the important date in the inscription of Gondophares just given, I will repeat them here in justification of the value of 100 which I have assigned to one of the symbols. "In the remarks on my Yusufzai inscription from Panjtar I have read the date as the year 122, the only doubtful figure being that for hundreds, which I have taken as 100, on the ground that the power of the Yuchi kings, according to the Chinese, did not last beyond the beginning of the 3rd century of the Christian era. Since writing these remarks I have referred to Gesenins,[2] where I find the fullest confirmation of the value which I have assigned to the centenary figure. The contracted word *sam* for *Samvat*, "year," is followed by an upright stroke, which in Phœnician, Aramæo Egyptian, and Palmyrenian is the index for hundreds, the two symbols together signifying simply one hundred, as £1 signifies one pound."

I have also made another important correction in my previous reading of *masa sudi prathame*, which should be *masasa di prathame*, where *di* is the usual contraction for *divasa* or "day." The reading now given is quite certain, and means simply the "first day of the month." This correction is of considerable importance, as the form corresponds with that of all the Arian inscriptions hitherto discovered in the use of the solar reckoning of 30 days to the month, instead of the lunar reckoning by the bright and dark fortnights of the moon, as in the first erroneous reading. The following is a transliteration of this short record:—

1.—*Sam.* 100+20+20 (=122) *Sravanasa masasa di prathame* 1, *Maharayasa Gushanasa Ra.**

2.—*Spesam asa prati * * mo Ika antumuja putra katra videsi vathalakhatra deme.*

3.—*Dana mitra raka 2 panya karena vaka makhu sirathala bama ***

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[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, p. 705, and Ibid. 1863, pp. 145, 150.
[2] Monumenta Phœnicia, pp. 88, 89.

It is very unfortunate that the name of the king is broken off at the end of the first line, the initial letter *R*, or perhaps *N*, being the only one unmutilated. The second letter, which is very doubtful, may be either *re*, or *ha* or *ne*. The date points to one of the successors of Gondophares; but the only names at present known are those of Abdagases, Orthagnes, Sasan, and Pakores. It is very doubtful, however, whether Orthagnes and Pakores reigned in Gandhara, and no portion of either of the names can be traced in the few doubtful letters of the inscription. The title of *Maharayasa Gushanasa*, or "king of the Gushân tribe," is already known from the Manikyala inscription of Court's Tope and the coins of Kujula Kadaphes, or Kadphizes. On the coins, however, the tribal name is written *Kushan* and *Khushan*, which I have identified with the *Kuei-Shwang* of the Chinese authors. To this powerful race belonged Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva, the last of whom was still reigning in Samvat 98, or only 24 years prior to the date of this inscription.[1] It is probable, therefore, that it may belong to one of Vâsu Deva's immediate successors; and if his family may be identified with the Pauranic Kanwayas, as I have already suggested, then the name of the reigning king in Samvat 122, or A. D. 65, would have been *Nárâyana*. Now, as the first two letters of the name may be read as *Nare*, it is quite possible that the name of the king recorded in this inscription may have been *Nárâin*, which is the common spoken form of *Nárâyan*. In the Jain books this king is apparently represented by *Nailla*, which is only another form of *Nárâyana* derived through the abbreviated *Naïna*, of which we have a well-known example in the name of *Naini Devi*, for *Nárâyani Devi*, who gives her name to Nâïni-Tal. Of the remaining portion of the inscription I am not able to offer any account.

No. 5.—CUNNINGHAM—FROM SADDO IN SUWÂT.

The village of Saddo is situated on the left or eastern bank of the Malizai Sin, or Panjkora River, and 25 miles to the north of the British boundary. The inscription is engraved on a rock in large letters. The copy taken by my servants was made under great difficulties, and not without danger.[2] It is therefore much less distinct and complete than it would

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, pp. 42—43.

[2] The same men procured copies of an inscription of Kâmrân, the rebellious brother of Humâyun, from *Ayasera* in Bajâwar, 16 miles to the north of Saddo and 40 miles beyond the British frontier.

have been if taken under more favourable circumstances. But enough has been copied to show, that the record is not later than the first century of the Christian era. I read the five letters of the first line as—

1.—*Masa Chetra di (vase).*

"On the * day of the month Chaitra."

Many of the letters in the other lines are very distinct and clear, but they are too scattered to yield any intelligible sentence.

I read the whole as follows:—

1.—*Masa Chetra di.*
2.—*ru * mudetama samja.*
3.—*esa hana * tra a * * nyajoya.*
4.—*yegatuheasa * ja.*

No. 6.—Cunningham—from Sahri-Bahlol.

The few letters of this record are inscribed on a piece of black pottery, which looks as if it had formed part of a large shallow dish, not less than 10 or 12 inches in diameter. I have already referred to it in my account of Sahri-Bahlol; but to complete my notice of the ancient Arian inscriptions of the Yusufzai District, I now give my proposed reading a second time. The letters are—*Magha Che* (*tra*) "in the month of *Chaitra*" with *sa* below. An offer of a good reward failed to bring to light any other portion of this bowl.

No. 7.—Cunningham—from Jamâl-Garhi.

This inscription is engraved on a fragment of stone, which appears to have been part of the base of a pilaster. As a long continued search by my servants around the great stupa, as well as the subsequent complete clearance of the courtyard by the sappers, failed to bring to light a second piece, I fear that it will never be recovered. I read the few letters as follows:—

1. *Budhavara masa che* (*tra*)*
2. *E * thuna.*

"On Wednesday, in the month of Chaitra."

No 8.—Cunningham—from Jamâl-Garhi.

This short inscription of seven letters is engraved on the circular disc or glory surrounding the head of a statue which I believe to be that of a king, as there are the remains of strings of pearls still traceable amongst the hair. I read the letters as *Saphaë danamukha*, of which the first and last but one are somewhat doubtful. The first may perhaps be *Va* or *Wa*, thus making *Waphae*, but I am

inclined to prefer the value of *sa*. I take *Danamukha* to be the name of the king; but I cannot even guess at the probable meaning of the term *Saphaë* which precedes it.

I have also observed the following *Arian* letters on the bas-reliefs, *a, b, de, he, ho, j, kh, n, p, r, th, ti, tr*, which are evidently only mason's marks, besides the figures 1, 2, 4. As no Indian letters have been found upon any of them, I conclude that the whole of the sculptures must belong to the two centuries before and after the Christian era, as the Arian characters are known to have fallen into disuse about A. D. 100 or a little later.

KHAIRÂBÂD.

One of the most important places on the western bank of the Indus in ancient times would appear to have been the great fort of Khairâbâd, opposite Attak, which is well known to all the people on both banks of the river as the stronghold of Raja *Hodi* or *Udi*. It was first brought to notice by General Court, who says that its foundation was attributed to Raja *Hodi*;[1] and it has since been described by Löwenthal, who speaks of the tradition about Raja *Hodi* or *Udi*, extending to the "topes and altars in the neighbourhood of Amerakhel, near the Surkhâb[2]" Of Raja *Hudi* or *Udi* Masson says: "This prince has attained a great traditionary fame in the countries between Jalâlâbâd and the Hydaspes.[3]" But the name is not limited by the Hydaspes, as the large ruined city of Asarur is also said to have been called Udamnagar, or Udinagar.[4] Löwenthal suggests that the name may have been derived from that of the district of *Udyâna* or the "garden," and he quotes Vivien de St. Martin for the extension of this name to Jalâlâbâd on the west and to Hasan Abdâl on the east. But this extension of the name of Udyâna to the west is, I believe, entirely founded on the possible identity of the modern Adinapur with the ancient Udyâna, which seems to me to be quite untenable. I have doubts also of its extension to the east beyond the Indus, as I know of no authority for its application to Hasan Abdâl as stated by St. Martin. But even admitting that it was so applied, this will not account for the attachment of the name of Raja Hudi to the ruins of Dârâpur on the Jhelam, and to those of Asarur, near Sangala, to the west of Lahor.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V, p. 395.
[2] " " " 1863, p. 17.
[3] Ariana Antiqua, p. 105.
[4] Archæological Survey of India, Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 200.

I incline rather to identify the name of Raja *Hudi* or *Udi* with that of the great Indo-Scythian race of *Yuti* or *Yuchi*, who became masters of the Kabul Valley towards the end of the second century B. C., and had extended their arms over the Panjâb and North-West India before the beginning of the christian era. By adopting this identification there is no difficulty about the extension of the name from Kabul even to the banks of the Jumna at Mathura. According to the widespread traditions of the people, Hudi was the Raja of Khairâbâd, and the enemy of Prince Rasâlu, the son of Sâlivâhan. Now if Sâlivâhan was a Saka, as seems highly probable from his era being called *Saka Sálivâhan*, then the enmity between Hudi and Rasâlu would be only the natural hostility of the two races of Tochari and Sacæ, or of the *Yuti* and the *Su* tribes.

The only incident in the career of Raja Hudi is the tradition, that he had seduced Rani Kokila, the wife of Rasâlu, during his absence at *Júlna Kankan* (query the Konkan in Southern India). The princess had a favorite parrot, which expostulated with her for receiving the visits of Raja Hudi; but as she would not give up her lover, the parrot asked for his liberty. This being granted, he flew off at once to Jûlna Kankan, and awoke Rasâlu by calling out, "There is a thief in your palace, a thief in your palace." Rasâlu then started off for his own residence at Khairamûrtti, ten miles to the south-west of Râwal Pindi, and on his arrival killed Raja Hudi, and cast off his wife Kokila. After this, she is said to have had another lover, to whom she bore three sons, named *Téu*, *Ghéu*, and *Séu*, who are the eponymous founders of the present tribes of *Tuwánas*, *Ghebis*, and *Syâls*.

On the rock at Khairâbâd there were formerly several circular marks, which were said to be the foot-prints of Rasâlu's horse, similar to that which once existed on a rock at Sakrabasti, near the Bakrâla Pass, and to which the same origin was attributed.

The Khirâbâd hoof-prints I believe to have been very ancient marks, which did not escape the keen observation of the astute Buddhist monks, who at once turned them to account. Thus we learn from the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun that on the *western bank of the Sindhu*, at three marches from the place where Buddha made an offering of his head (*i. e.*, Taxila), is the place where "*Tathagata* took the form

of a great fish called *Ma-Kie* (*i. e.*, *Makara*), and for twelve years supported the people with his flesh. On this spot is raised a memorial tower. On the rock are still to be seen the traces of the scales of the fish [1]."

All remains of the memorial tower have long since disappeared; but the circular marks were in existence a few years ago, and they are still remembered as the hoof-prints of Raja Rasâlu, while by others they are called either the foot-prints of Raja *Mân*, or the hoof-prints of his horse. But this last name of *Mân* I take to be only a slight alteration of the old Buddhist legend of the fish (*Mahi* or *Makara*).

This fish incarnation of Buddha is not mentioned by either of the other pilgrims, Fa Hian or Hwen-Thsang; but the scene of its occurrence is sufficiently well marked by Sung-Yun, as three days to the west of Taxila, and the same distance to the east of Fo-sha-fu, which I have identified with Shahbâz-garhi. I believe that Khairâbâd satisfies these conditions better than any other place on the Indus.

SHAHDHERI OR TAXILA.

In my previous account of the ruins at Shahdheri, I gave some very strong reasons for its identification with the ancient Taxila[2]. These may be summed up under two heads: *1st*, that the Chinese pilgrims are unanimous in placing the city three marches to the east of the Indus, which agrees exactly with the position of Shahdheri; and, *2nd*, that the ruins about Shahdheri are so much more extensive than those of any other site between the Indus and the Hydaspes, that they can only be the remains of the ancient capital of the country which the Greeks called Taxila and the Hindus Takkasila and Takshasila. This identification I proposed just nine years ago, and a second visit to the site, which I have now made, has only strengthened my conviction of its truth. To the several significant names which I first gave[3], I can now add that of *Hatiâl* or *Athiâl*, which is still given to the lower hill immediately above the city. This hill I would

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[1] Beal's Sung-Yun, p. 200.

[2] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 111.

[3] These were—1st, *Babar Khâna*, or the "Tiger's house," the site of the temple where Buddha gave his head to a hungry tiger; 2nd, *Mârgala*, or the "beheaded," from *Gala-mârna* to "behead," because Buddha *cut off* his head to present it to the tiger; 3rd, Sir-ka-Pind, or the "head mound," which I take to have been the remains of some monument raised to commemorate thelegend of the "head gift."

identify with the temple of "Collected Bones," mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun. According to his text, the site of this temple was the place where Buddha made an offering of his body, which I have already shown to be Mânikyâla. His words are[1]—"From the royal city going south-east over a mountainous district, eight days' journey, we come to the place where Tathagata, practising austerities, gave up his *body* to feed a starving tiger. It is a *high mountain*, with scarped precipices and towering peaks that pierced the clouds." Now, there is no hill of any kind either at Mânikyâla, or at any place within many miles of it. But this mountain is the chief feature of the place referred to, as "Sung-Yun and Hoei Seng devoted a portion of their travelling funds to erect a pagoda on the crest of the hill, and they inscribed on a stone in the square character an account of the great merits of the Wei dynasty. "This mountain also possessed the temple called "Collected Bones.[2]" As we cannot get rid of the mountain, it is clear that this was not the scene "where Buddha gave up his *body* to feed a starving tiger;" I would therefore suggest that instead of "body" we should read "head," and transfer the scene to Shahdheri, or Taxila, where the lofty fortified hill of *Sur-garh*, with its precipices, overlooks the ancient city. Now the lower half of this hill, which has once been covered with buildings, is still called *Hatiâl* or *Athiâl*, a name which may be referred either to the Sanskrit *Asthyâla* or *Athiâl*, or to the Hindi *Haddial*, both of which mean the "place of bones." It is probably the *Hattiâr Lank* of Abul Fazl, which he places in the Sindh Sagur Doab.

To this identification I can also add the still stronger evidence afforded by the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the Satrap Liako Kujuluka. In this record he states that he was the "Satrap of *Chhahara* and *Chukhsa* to the north-east of the city of Takhasila." Now we know from the enquiries of Mr. Delmerick, that this copper-plate was found in the village of Thupkia, in the middle of the ruined city of Sir-sukh. As this old city lies to the north-east of Sir-kap, it follows that Sir-kap must be Taxila, as I have already

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[1] Beal's Sung Yun, page 193. The eight days' journey are to be reckoned from the capital of Suwât. Remusat makes the pilgrims put up a statue in the Vihâr, in front of the mountain. See also Laidlay, page 50, note at bottom of page.

[2] *Ibid*, page 193.

attempted to prove, and that Sir-sukh must be *Chhahara Chukhsa*. In fact, if we read *Shahara Sukhsa*, after the example of Chhatrapasa for *Satrap*, then *Sahar-sukh* will be almost an exact transcript of *Chhahar Chukhs*. I have spelt the names as *Sir-kap* and *Sir-sukh*, because the people are unanimous in their belief that *Sir-kap* was in the habit of cutting off heads; but the common pronunciation of Shahr is like *Ser* or *Sir*. Thus, General James Abbott writes *Shihr* as the Panjabi pronunciation of *Shahr*.

I have already, in a previous report[1], described the different parts of the ruins around Shah-dheri, which I believe to have constituted the ancient Taxila. But during my late visit to the place I was able to make several excavations, which have cleared up many doubtful points as to the external appearance and internal arrangement of Buddhist Vihars, and have brought to light the bases and capitals of some Ionic columns of pure Greek design. Both results are valuable, as no large Vihars have yet been excavated to the west of the Indus; while the Ionic bases and capitals are the only specimens of this style that have yet been found in India, as the whole of the buildings exhumed in the Yusufzai district are ornamented with pilasters of the Corinthian style.

The village of *Mohra-Maliâr* is situated three quarters of a mile to the north-east of Shah-dheri, and 500 yards to the west of the old city of *Sir-kap*, which was the actual city of Taxila. Between the two runs the Tabra or Tamra Nala, on the left bank of which, to the north of the village, and high above the stream, stands the old mound of the Ionic temple. The position is a very fine one, as it commands an extensive view of the surrounding ruins, with the Balar Tope to the north, and the lofty hills of Mârgala and Hasan Abdâl to the east and west. In my former report I noticed that the base of a sandstone pillar of pure Greek style had been discovered by the people of Mohra-Maliâr, who have used the mound as a quarry ever since their village was established. All the upper walls had thus disappeared long ago; but the subsequent discovery of three more sandstone bases by Mr. Delmerick showed that the foundations and some portions of the superstructure still remained to be exhumed. I therefore determined on clearing out the interior, with the

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, p. 111.

view of finding the shafts and capitals of the Ionic pillars, and of ascertaining the use and purpose of the building. My explorations were successful in both of these points, and the discovery of several portions of Ionic capitals is of special interest and value, as this is the only instance in which any remains of the Ionic order of Greek architecture have yet been found in India.

In the accompanying plates[1] I have given the result of my explorations, which disclose the remains of a Buddhist temple of the Ionic order of architecture. The temple itself was 91 feet long by 64 feet broad, with its entrance on the eastern side towards the city. It was raised on a elevated platform, which gave a clear width of 15 feet all round the building. The exact object of this platform is not certain. My first impression was, that it was a mere terrace intended to give additional height; but as all the villagers agreed that numerous pieces of plaster statues had been found outside the back wall of the temple at D, it seems almost certain that this terrace must have been a roofed cloister or colonnade which surrounded the whole building.

The entrance to the temple was on the east side, through a portico of four massive sandstone pillars of the Ionic order into a hall $39\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $15\frac{3}{4}$ feet broad, marked A. There is nothing to show the purpose of this room, which would appear to have been a mere entrance hall, on each side of which there was a small room, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ feet, marked B, which were most probably the residences of two attendant monks. On the west side a wide doorway led into the sanctum of the temple, which was a long room, 79 feet by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet, marked C. This room was entirely surrounded by a continuous pedestal or basement for statues, which was 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and 2 feet high. The central portion of this part of the temple had been previously excavated by a well-known digger for antiquities, named Nûr, who found numerous pieces of large plaster statues, and a considerable quantity of gold leaf. Here I discovered the foundations of two pillars, of which the bases had been previously removed. But I found several portions of their circular shafts, as well as large pieces of their capitals, with the usual volutes of the

[1] Plates XVII and XVIII.

Greek Ionic order. I also obtained some gold leaf and small fragments of plaster statues.

The plaster statues were all Buddhist, with curly hair, and hands in the lap or raised in the attitude of teaching. I must confess that I was disappointed at this result, as I had hoped, from the presence of the Ionic pillars, that the building would prove to be a pure Greek temple dedicated to the worship of the Greek gods. There is, however, no doubt that it was a Buddhist Vihar, adorned with pure Greek Ionic columns.

The lower diameter of each pillar was 2 feet 4½ inches, which, at the usual proportion of 9 diameters, would give a total height of rather more than 21 feet. The mouldings of the base are accurately given in the accompanying plate, from a clay cast which was taken with considerable care. The bases which have been found are all of sandstone, and belong to the four pillars of the entrance porch; but the pieces of capital are all of *kankar*, or *kanjur* as it is called in the Panjab, and were found in the inner room. From their rough state it seems certain that they must originally have been plastered. This would increase the upper diameter from 19 inches to 20 or 21 inches: but as this would still leave a difference of 7½ inches between the upper and lower diameters, which is much too great for any known amount of diminution, I conclude that the two inner pillars must have been of somewhat smaller size than the four outer ones. I found no less than eleven pieces of circular shaft, giving a total height of 8 feet 4½ inches, of which the largest diameter was 25 inches, and the smallest only 18 inches. But as all the larger pieces were found in the village and all the smaller pieces inside the temple, I conclude that the former must have belonged to the four larger pillars of the entrance porch, and the smaller pieces to the two inner pillars.

The bases of these columns correspond exactly with the pure Attic base, which was very commonly used with the Ionic order, as in the Erectheium at Athens. But the capitals differ from the usual Greek forms very considerably, and more especially in the extreme height of the abacus. The volutes also differ, but they present the same side views of a baluster, which is common to all the Greek forms of the Ionic order. Altogether this unique specimen of the Indian Ionic seems to me to be of a ruder and more primitive

type than any of the pure Greek examples to which I have access.

I have been much puzzled as to the nature and style of the roof of this temple. As timber must have been easily procurable in the valley of the Haro river, I conclude that the main portion of the roof was of wood. But the object of the pillars is not at all clear. The two inner pillars in the sanctum most probably supported a gorgeous canopy over the principal figure of Buddha, which would have been placed against the middle of the back wall. The room must then have been lighted by windows, as we know to have been the case with the smaller temples both at Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi. With regard to the four pillars in front, I think that they must have been intended to support a vaulted roof presenting a pointed arch gable to the front, as in the smaller chapels across the Indus. The extra height thus gained, would have admitted the rising sun to illuminate the middle figure in the sanctum, which would appear to have been the principal object of the builder in every Buddhist temple. I suspect, however, that the principal statue of the Vihar must have been enshrined under the four pillars at the entrance.

In my former report I suggested that this temple on the Maliâr mound might possibly be the ruins of the temple described by Philostratus, in which he and his fellow traveller Damis waited until their arrival was made known to Phraotes, the King of Taxila. The position and the dimensions agree very well; but time has left us no means of judging whether any other parts of the description were applicable or not. The account of Philostratus is as follows[1]: "Before the walls of the city stood a temple, whose dimensions were nearly 100 feet, built of porphyry, within which was a chapel, too small in proportion to the size of the temple, which was large, spacious, and surrounded with pillars; but, notwithstanding, the chapel was worthy of admiration." Tablets of brass were hung on the walls with becoming inscriptions, representing the deeds of Alexander and Porus, in orichalcum, and silver, and gold, and bronze. The elephants, houses, soldiers, helmets, shields, spears, and javelins, were all represented in iron. It is just possible

[1] Vita Apollonii, II, 20.

that this description of metal tablets being hung on the walls may refer to the sculptured alto-relievos of the Buddhists, which were generally fixed to the walls by nails, and were very often richly *gilded*.

Regarding the age of this Ionic pillared Vihâr, I am able to offer what I consider to be a very strong proof of great antiquity in the discovery of twelve large copper coins of Azas under the foundation of the statue platform, and below the level of the paved floor of the sanctum. The coins were lying packed together in line, and had apparently been deposited at the time of the building of the statue platform. I was sitting close by at the time of the discovery, and I lifted out the twelve coins, all sticking together, with my own hand, and saw that the place of their deposit was quite undisturbed. I believe, therefore, that the temple is certainly as old as the time of Azas, or about 80 B.C., as some of the coins belong to the latter part of his reign. In the absence of any formal record, I look upon the discovery of coins, and short inscriptions on statues, and mason's marks, as the most trustworthy proofs that can be obtained of the age of any building. They may sometimes be of later date than the building itself; but even then they are useful, as they serve to fix a limit to the modernness of the building.

During my stay at Shah-dheri I excavated a second Buddhist Vihar on the south bank of the Tabra Nala, and 2,000 feet to the north of Mohra-Maliâr, to which valley the land belongs. It is not marked in my map of the ruins of Taxila[1], but it may be readily inserted in the bend of the Tabra Nala, immediately to the south of No. 39 mound, and may be numbered as 38½, and I propose to call the building the Tabra Nala Vihar.

The mound is a large flat topped mass, about 200 feet square at base, and 16 feet in height, and thickly covered with stones and thorny bushes. On clearing the surface I found that the Vihar itself was a great pile of building, 75 feet square, surrounded by a wall 122 feet square, which may have been either an enclosure or the supporting wall of a raised terrace[2]. The latter I believe to be the more probable suggestion. The entrance which was on the east side,

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, Plate 57, and p. 126.
[2] See Plate XIX.

opened into a long room, 64 feet by 18, with a large niche in the middle of the back wall. This was no doubt the shrine of the principal statue, which would have received the direct rays of the rising sun through the entrance doorway.

On each side of the niche there was a doorway leading into a central room, 41 feet long by 21 feet broad, which was entirely surrounded by a raised platform, or continuous pedestal, for the reception of a number of statues. This arrangement of a hall of statues is similar to that of the Ionic Vihar near the village[1]. The mode of lighting the room must also have been the same—namely, by several small windows in the upper part of the walls, above the level of the roofs of the surrounding rooms; a plan which is still practised in Punjab houses.

There are doors in the middle of the north and south sides opening into narrow passages, which lead into the great entrance hall on the east, and into single rooms, each upwards of 17 feet square, on the west, for the abode of the resident monks. On the west face there is another door open into a large room, 24 feet by 17 feet, the purpose of which is very doubtful.

Externally the building was decorated with four massive pilasters on each face, the central intercolumniation being somewhat greater than the two side ones on the east and west faces, and somewhat less on the north and south faces. I made a very complete surface excavation, but was not successful in finding any portions of the bases or capitals of the pilasters.

The great breadth of the rooms in this Vihar makes it certain that they must have been roofed with wood; but the style of roofing cannot be ascertained with certainty from the sculptures. I conjecture, however, that the side roofs were flat, while that of the central hall of statues was most probably vaulted with a pointed arch, such as is still in existence in several of the caves of Western India. Indeed the stone hood-mouldings of the smaller chapels, one of which is still intact at Takht-i-Bahi, were clearly derived from a wooden prototype.

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[1] I have found the same arrangement in an old Jain temple, which I excavated in the Fort of Gwalior, and in a second old Jain temple in the long deserted city of Buri Chanderi. It exists also in all the old Brahmanical temples at Jhâlra Pâtan.

Near the north end of the city of Sir-kap there is another variety of temple, which was described in my former report as No. 28[1]. I now give a plan of the building with its curious circular pit, 32 feet in diameter and 18 feet deep[2]. This pit communicates on its east side with a large room, 43 feet 4 inches long and 32 feet broad, which I take to have been a hall of statues, as I found in clearing it numerous pieces of burnt clay statues of colossal size. The statues would have been arranged round the four sides, as they were in the central rooms of the other Vihars at Taxila, which I have just described, and as they still are in Burma. This room was connected with the circular pit by a grand doorway, 14 feet wide. The walls of the pit are plastered, and its floor is solidly paved with rough stones to a depth of more than 4 feet. As to the purpose of this pit, I can make no probable conjecture. It may have been a bath or reservoir for water, or a granary; but the great width of the doorway leading into the hall of statues is against both of these suppositions; and the only other possible use that I can suggest is that it may have been the receptacle either of a stupa, or of a colossal statue of Buddha.

In Plate XX I have given a plan of a great monastery surrounding the ruins of a stupa, marked No. 40 in my map of the ruins of Taxila, which was upwards of 40 feet in diameter. This central stupa was surrounded by an open cloister, 8 feet wide, forming a square of 90 feet, behind which were the cells of the monks, each 9½ feet broad and 14½ feet long. The outer wall of the monastery was 3 feet, and the inner wall 2 feet thick; the whole building forming a square of 145 feet outside. The entrance was in the centre of the south face, towards the city of Sir-kap. As it stands in the very midst of the lands now called *Babar Khâna*, or "House of the Tiger," I have suggested that it may have been the famous monument which Asoka erected on the spot where Buddha had made an offering of his head to appease the hunger of a starving tiger.

It will be observed that the four corner rooms of this monastery are square, and therefore could not have had any direct openings to the light. On this account I believe that these four rooms were the basement storeys of the

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, Plate 57 and p. 126.
[2] Plate XIX.

corner pavilions mentioned by Hwen-Thsang[1]. "The *sanghârâmas* (or monasteries), he says, are built with extraordinary art. At the four corners they have pavilions of three or four storeys." The possession of a verandah or cloister also leads me to infer that there must have been a second storey to the cells, as the roof of the cloister would have given ready access to the rooms of the upper storey. Allowing only one person to each room, this double storied monastery could have contained about 60 monks.

In Plate XX I have given a sketch of a Buddhist railing pillar which I excavated from the great mound of Seri-ka-Pind, which is marked No. 42 in my map of the Ruins of Taxila. This pillar is only 18½ inches in height, and 3½ inches broad by 3 inches thick. But, though small, it is of a novel pattern, different from any other that I have yet seen. The front face is bevelled on both edges in the usual manner, but the sockets for the reception of the rails are curved only in front, with a flat back instead of the usual double segments. On the back there is an Arian letter, which looks like *tre*, and may possibly be intended for the number of the pillar.

MANIKYALA

When I visited the Mânikyâla Tope in the end of 1863, I made some excavations at different points around the base, which showed me that there was once a broad terrace ornamented with pilasters which completely surrounded the monument. I therefore made a request to my old and kind friend, Sir Donald McLeod, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb, that he would order the whole of this lower part of the tope to be uncovered, and the ground for some distance to be cleared and levelled. This work was accordingly done at once; and when I visited Mânikyâla early in the present year, I made fresh measurements of the whole building and examined it carefully throughout. The description and drawings which I am now able to give, may therefore be depended upon for the fullness and accuracy of the details.

The great tope of Mânikyâla is a hemisphere 127 feet 9 inches in diameter, resting on a cylindrical neck, 15 feet

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[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, II, 66.

in height[1]. This is surrounded by a raised terrace 18¾ feet in breadth, and 13 feet 4¾ inches in height. The total height of the dome, as it now stands, is therefore 92 feet 3¼ inches[2]. Four broad flights of steps facing the cardinal points led to the top of the terrace for the perambulation of the tope by pilgrims. The side walls of the staircases were covered with a massive coping[3]. The whole was most probably surrounded with a Buddhist railing, but after a most minute search I found no traces of any pillars and only one fragment of rail, which was 3½ inches thick in the middle, and about 16 inches broad. Allowing three rails with intervals of 4 inches, and a coping of 16 inches, the total height of the railing, including 6 inches for a plinth, would have been about 7 feet[4].

The great mass of the tope is built of huge rough blocks of sandstone inside, with a carefully-smoothed facing of kankar outside the dome, and of sandstone in the spaces between the pilasters, both of the cylindrical neck and of the terrace plinth.

The stones are of many colours—dirty yellow, dirty red, and grey. All the mouldings and all the pilasters, excepting only the shafts and bases of the upper row, are made of kankar blocks. The outer faces of all the stones have been worked smooth, but the inner faces show the chisel marks as sharp as when they were first cut. From this mixture of stones I conclude that the tope must have been built of sandstone originally, and was afterwards extensively repaired with kankar blocks in all its lines of mouldings, in the capitals of all the pilasters, and in the entire facing of the dome.

Behind the frieze which surmounts the upper row of pilasters, there is one worked stone built into the body of the tope. Its mouldings are of the same character as those of the frieze itself, but their arrangement is different, and their depth greater. The frieze of the tope has only 5 inches of moulded lines, with a plain face of 7 inches; whereas the single block has 7 inches of moulded lines, with only 5 inches of plain face.

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[1] Mr. Fergusson, History of Architecture, II, 468, makes the dome spring from the top of the upper line of pilasters; but I have again very carefully examined the space above the pilasters, and I am quite satisfied that the dome springs from the upper line of moulding, which is more than 7 feet above the capital of the pilasters.

[2] See Plate XXI for a plan, and Plate XXII for an elevation and section of the tope.

[3] See Plate XXIII for a view of one of these staircases.

[4] See Plate XXIII for a sketch of this fragment of Buddhist rail.

For the course immediately above the frieze the blocks at the back were under-cut to receive them, thus—

with the view, as I suppose, of securing them more firmly in their places. As this under-cutting would have been quite unnecessary at the original construction of the tope, I conclude that the building must have been extensively repaired at some subsequent period, when the facing of the dome and all the mouldings and capitals were renewed with kankar blocks.

The carving of the capitals has suffered so much from the weather that I found it quite impossible to obtain any satisfactory drawing of the details. Enough, however, remains to show that the pilasters were of the Indo-Corinthian style, similar to those of Takht-i-Bahi and Jamâl-garhi. The result of my examination is shown in the accompanying plate[1], where the broad masses of acanthus foliage are still plainly visible. Each pilaster was covered with a long bracket capital in addition to its own low abacus. Experience had, no doubt, shown that this addition was absolutely necessary to assist in carrying the weight of the frieze where the intercolumniations were purposely enlarged to admit statues of Buddha between the pillars.

This great tope was opened in 1830 by General Ventura, and the account of its exploration was first published by Wilson and afterwards by Prinsep[2]. From this account it would appear that the lowest deposit, marked C in my section[3], which was discovered just below the centre of hemisphere, was certainly intact, as it contained nothing later than the age of Hoverke or Huvishka. The single gold coin, as well as three out of the five copper coins of this deposit, belonged to him, the other two being of his predecessor, Kanerke or Kanishka. With these coins there were also found a brass cylindrical casket, with an Arian inscription around the lid, and a small circular piece of silver with two lines of Arian letters on

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[1] See Plate XXIV of Mânikyâla mouldings.

[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions, XVII, 601; and Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, III, 316.

[3] See Plate XXII.

one side. The presence of Arian writing, unmixed with anything of later date, is another proof of the early period of this deposit, as I know of no example of Arian writing of a later date than the end of the first century A.D.

Two other deposits, marked respectively A and B in my section, also contained coins of Kanishka and Huvishka; but those of A were mixed with others of a much later date, while three broken Sassanian coins are said to have been found below B. As all these later coins belong to the same period, I conclude that the extensive repairs of the tope, and the consequent disturbance of the upper deposits of Huvishka's time, may be referred to the date of these coins. The close agreement of their dates is very remarkable.

One silver Sassanian coin of Khusru, with Bismillah, 632 to 690 A. D.

One gold coin of Yaso Varmma of Kanoj, 700 to 730 A. D.

Two silver trilingual coins with sun-god of Multân, 600 to 700.

I would therefore fix the date of the repairs of the tope at about A. D. 720.

The conclusions at which I have arrived regarding this tope are as follow:—

I suppose the tope to have been built originally, in the time of Huvishka, by his Satrap *Karasiva*. It was then entirely of sandstone. But after the lapse of several centuries, when the lines of moulding and the capitals of the pilasters, as well as the rounded surface of the dome had been worn away by weathering, I suppose that it was repaired with Kankar facings and mouldings about A.D. 720, perhaps by Yaso Varmma of Kanoj, whose gold coin was found inside.

I have a strong suspicion, however, that General Ventura's record of the three decayed Sassanian coins having been found below the B deposit may be erroneous. My impression is that they formed part of the uppermost deposit A, which was found at the bottom of the square well. If we suppose this to have been the case, then the disturbance of the interior of the tope down to a depth of about 60 feet at the time of its repair may be dismissed at once; and the amount of opening would be limited to the deposit at the bottom of the square well, which contained a large gold coin

of Huvishka. I suppose that down to this date the square well was an open shaft, and that the relic box deposited therein was accessible to the priests. At the time of the repair of the tope, in A. D. 720, the other coins must have been added to this deposit, and the well was then finally closed.

During my last visit to Mânikyâla I made some excavations in a new site, called *mahal*, or the "palace," on account of the apparent extent of the buildings, which stand on another of the coarse sandstone ridges, 1,000 yards to the south-east of the great tope. Its exact bearing is 154° east. The only discoveries which I made on this site were two gigantic heads of Buddha in coarse sandstone. The smaller one, which was much damaged, was 22 inches high and 20 inches broad; but the larger one, which had lost the top of the head with all the hair, was 21 inches across the forehead, and 22 inches in height; to which must be added about 3 inches more for the lost part of the head. The statue to which this head belonged, must therefore have been fully 20 feet in height.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE SALT RANGE.

The large tract of country which is bounded by the Jhelam and Indus on the east and west, and includes the Gandgarh Mountain in the north and the Salt Range in the south, is described by the astronomer Varâha Mihira as the north-western division of India under the general name of *Hárahaura* or *Hárahúna*. No trace of this name now remains, except perhaps in the *Haro* river which flows past the old town of Haro, now called Hasan Abdâl. Under the rule of the early Muhammadans this district was known simply as the "Mount Jûd," from the resemblance of one of the hills of the Salt Range to Mount Jûd, or Ararat, in Armenia[1]. Under Akbar and the Mughal Emperors it formed the northern half of the Sindh Sâgar Doâb. The southern half of the Doâb, or the plain country to the south of the Salt Range, is known by the general name of *Kachhi* or the "low-lands."

According to the Purâns the whole of the Panjâb was peopled by the descendants of Anu, who would have been

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[1] Baber's Memoirs by Leyden and Erskine, p. 254.

called *Anavas* or Anuwân. In the lapse of time this would naturally have been shortened to Awân, which is the name of one of the most numerous tribes in the north-western Panjâb. The western half of the high-lands between the Indus and Jhelam is chiefly peopled by them, and is therefore commonly called *Awânkari*. The eastern half of the high-lands is divided into the two well-known districts of Potwâr and Dhani; the former being chiefly occupied by *Gakars*, *Jats*, and *Gujars*, and the latter by *Januhas* and *Awâns*, with a smaller number of Jats and Gujars. In the extreme northwest of Awânkâri are the two small districts of Chach and Panj-katta; the former name being applied to the rich alluvial plain lying between the Indus and Haro rivers; the latter to the level plain around Shahdheri or Taxila, which is irrigated by five small canals (*Panj-katta*) or the "five cuts" drawn from the Haro river.

The distribution of races was much the same in the time of Baber, but with the marked absence of the Awâns as a prominent tribe. His words are—"In the hill country between Nilâb and Bhira, but apart from the tribes of *Júd* and *Janjuhah*, and adjoining the hill country of Kashmir, are the *Jats*, *Gujars*, and many other men of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their Hâkim was of the *Gakar* race, and their government resembles that of the *Júds* and *Janjuhah*[1]." Here there is no mention of the Awâns, and even supposing that they may be included amongst "the other men of similar tribes," yet this refers only to the northern half of the province adjoining the hill country of Kashmir and not to the large district of Jhand or Awânkâri. I conclude therefore that the Awâns were then tributary to the *Janjuhahs*, and I have a strong suspicion that they may be the same tribe as the *Júd*. It is certain tha they occupy the hills of *Júd*, as Baber describes this range as "branching off from the hill country of Kashmir in a south-west direction, and terminating below Dinkot on the river Sindh. On the one-half of this hill are the *Júd*, and on the other the *Janjuhah*." Now the country of the *Janjuhahs* is well known. Their chief now occupies *Mallot*, but the ancient seat of the family was at *Makhiala* in the hills to the north north-east

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Leyden and Erskine, p. 250.

of Pind Dâdan Khan. In the time of Baber, one of their inferior chiefs named Malik Hast lived near the Suhân river, on the high road leading from Nilâb on the Indus to Kalar Kahâr. His residence was most probably at *Nila*, an old town on the south bank of the Suhân river, 30 miles to the north of Kalar Kahâr. In the time of Baber, therefore, the Janjuhahs must have possessed the whole of the Chakowâl district. As this is the eastern half of the Salt Range, the Jûds must have possessed the western half, that is the very country which has been from time immemorial occupied by the Awâns. But in addition to this evidence, I can adduce an equally strong proof which has come under my own observation, that there is no tribe in existence at the present day which calls itself by the name of *Júd*. I think, therefore, that this name must have been given by the first Muhammadan conquerors to the inhabitants of Mount *Júd*, who would therefore appear to have been Awâns.

Baber describes the *Júd* and Janjuhah as "two races of men descended from the same father." The chief had the title of *Rai*, but his younger brother and sons were styled *Malik*. The title of Rai proves their Hindu origin, and that of Malik their conversion to Islâm. "From old times," says Baber, "they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Ils* and *Uluses* which are between Nilâb and Bhira.[1]" According to this statement they must once have held the whole of the table-land between the Indus and Jhelam, with the exception of the north-east tract occupied by the Gakars. This view is supported by a fact mentioned by Baber after his capture of Parhâla (Pharwâla), the stronghold of the Gakars, that *Andarâba* on the Suhân river "depended from old times on the father of Malik Hast[2]"

Now these statements as to the extent of territory formerly held by the Janjuhahs agree with the traditions of the people themselves, that their forefathers were the lords of the whole table-land between the Indus and the Jhelam, and of a broad belt of country on the western bank of the Indus. These statements agree also with the present distribution of the Awâns, who are found in considerable numbers to the west of the Indus as far as Peshâwar.

[1] Baber's Memoirs, p. 259.
[2] Baber's Memoirs, p. 262.

At the present day the *Janjuhahs* call themselves *Januha*, although they continue to spell their name *Jajuha*. They also say that they are called *Rája*, because their tribe have always given Kings to the country. These two statements at once recall the account given by Masudi of the Kings of *Gândhâra* in the middle of the tenth century. "The King of El-Kandahar," says he, "who is one of the Kings of Es-Sind ruling over this country, is called *Jahaj*; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country.[1]" Masudi further adds, that "Kandahâr (or Gandhâr) is called the country of Rajput." Putting these two statements together, we learn that the Kings of Gandhâra, in the middle of the 10th century, were Rajputs, all of whom bore the common title of Jahaj. Now both of these conditions are fulfilled by the Rajput Jajuhas, who would thus appear to have been the rulers of the country immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest. The only objection to this identification is the positive statement of Al Biruni, that these Kings were Brahmans[2]; but as the statement of Masudi is equally positive that they were Rajputs, and as the well-known usage of the country, so far as my experience goes, rarely gives the name of Pâla to Brahmans, the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of the identification of the Jajuha Rajputs with the last dynasty of the Hindu Kings of Gândhâra. It is possible, perhaps, to explain Al Biruni's statement as referring to their religion as *Brahmanists*, in opposition to the previously prevailing religion of Buddhism.

The names of these Princes preserved by Al Biruni are the following, to which I have added the approximate dates at the rate of 25 years to each generation :—

A. D. 875.—Kallar.
900.—Sâmand.
925.—Kamlu or Kamlua كملوا
950.—Bhima.
975.—Jay-pâl.
1000.—Anand-pál.
1021.—Trilochan-pâl[3].
1026.—Bhim-pâl.

[1] Sprenger's Masudi, p. 381. See also H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, p. 57.

[2] Reinaud's Fragments Arabes, &c., p. 153. See also Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays, I, 314.

[3] I have restored this name from *Nardajan, Tarvajan*, &c., to its proper reading. I have found the very same mistake in Persian lists of the Rajas of Gwalior, where *Nardajan* takes the place of *Trilochan* of the Nagari lists.

I agree with Mr. Thomas in identifying Kallar with the well-known Syâla-pati Deva of the coins; but I would take Kallar as his true name, and Syâla-pati as the title, which he assumed on ascending the throne. This title of "lord of the Syâls," or Syâl tribe, is another proof of his Rajput origin, as the Syâls claim to be descended from Rasâlu, the son of Sâlivâhan. The coins of the second Prince, Sâmanta Deva, are extremely common, while those of the fourth Prince, Bhima Deva, are just the reverse, being extremely rare. The coins of another Prince have also been found, but the reading of the name is not quite clear. I make it *Khamarayakah*, which I would identify with that of the third Prince, *Kamalua*, by changing و to ق, and thus reading *Kamalaka*. No coins of the other four Princes have yet been found. Their names, it will be observed, all end in *Pâl*, which may perhaps denote a change of dynasty. Trilochan is mentioned in the History of Kashmir[1], as having been defeated by *Hammir*, the general of the Turushkas, or Turks, when he took refuge with Sangrâma Deva, who ruled from A.D. 1005 to 1028. He is called *Sâhi* himself, and also lord of *Sâhi*. This I take to be the title of *Sâhi*, which his ancestors had derived from their predecessors, the Turki Kings of Cabul. The title of *Sâhi* also leads me to suspect that the name of *Kallar* may perhaps be identified with that of *Lalli*[2], as another *Sâhi* of the country of Lalli is mentioned as the contemporary of Sankara Varmma, who reigned from A.D. 883 to 901.

Of the early history of the table-land between the Indus and Jhelam, we have no details. We know generally that it belonged first to the Mauryas of Pataliputra, next to the Greek successors of Alexander the Great, and afterwards to the Indo-Scythians. But in A. D. 631, when visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang, it had already become tributary to Kashmir. This extension of the Kashmirian dominions was most probably due to Pravarasena, whose long reign certainly embraced the middle of the 6th century A.D. Before his time the country must have been subject to the little Yuchi of Gandhâra.

The ascendancy of the Kashmirian Kings would appear to have remained undisturbed during the whole period of the

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[1] Raja Tarangini, VII, 47-57-65.

[2] By reading لالی instead of کلر.

rule of the Karkota dynasty, or from A.D. 625 to 854. But during the reign of Avanti Varmma, A.D. 854 to 883, the Rajput Jajuhas of Gandhâra must have annexed the whole of the outlying provinces between the Indus and the Jhelam, as his son Gopâla Varmma, A.D. 883 to 901, is said to have conquered Alakhâna Raja of Gurjjara, who was protected by *Sriman Lalli Sáhi*[1]. Here we see that the *Sáhi* or King of Gandhâra had already extended his power eastward to the district of Gurjjara between the Jhelam and the Chenâb.

This *Lalli Sahi* I take to be the founder of the dynasty, whom Al Biruni calls *Kallar*, and who was certainly reigning towards the end of the 9th century, and was therefore a contemporary of Sankara Varmma. On this occasion the Raja of Gurjjara surrendered the district of *Takka-desa* to the Kashmir King. But the troubles of a long disputed succession, which followed his premature death in A.D. 901, must have left the whole of the district between the Indus and the Jhelam at the mercy of the powerful King of Gandhâra Samanta Deva, into whose hands they most probably fell without a struggle. From him they passed to his successors down to Trilochan Pâl, who was finally dispossessed by Mahmud of Ghazni. The family would then appear to have sought refuge at Bhira on the Jhelam in the midst of their Jajûha kinsmen.

I have thought it necessary to give this rapid sketch of the history of the table-land between the Indus and Jhelam to account for the existence of a number of old Hindu temples in the Salt Range, which all belong to the Kashmirian style of architecture, with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches. These temples are found at Amb, Mallot, Ketâs, and Bâghanwâla. They are all Brahmanical buildings, and from their style alone they must be assigned to the most flourishing period of the Kashmirian rule or from about A.D. 650 to 900. They appear to me to belong to the same age as the temples of Avanti Varmma, as they have the same style of pillars ornamented with spiral twists, with a superabundance of ornament about the trefoil arches, which betokens a late age. As Avanti Varmma's reign extended from A.D. 854 to 883, these temples of the Salt

[1] Raja Tarangini, IV 151.

Range may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the 9th century. The spiral twisted pillars had, however, been introduced as early as the beginning of the century, as there are several specimens in the temple of Siddhnâth at Kirgrâm in the Kangra district, which dates as high as A.D. 804. At the same time I must admit that the plan of the temple, with its e trance porch and gateway, agrees much more nearly with the earlier example of Mârttand, than with those of Avantipur.

MALLOT.

The Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang describes *Seng-ho-pu-lo*, or Singhapura, the capital of the Salt Range, as being about 700 *li*, or 117 miles to the south-east of Taxila. It was 14 or 15 *li*, or 2½ miles, in circuit, and was situated on a high mountain, which was both difficult and dangerous of access. All these conditions are fulfilled in the site of the ancient city of Mallot. I have now marched the whole way from Shahdheri, or Taxila, to Mallot, *viâ* Râwal Pindi, Mânikyâla, Chakowâl, and Kalar Kahâr, and the distance is just 114 miles. It is certain, however, that the pilgrim did not travel by this route, otherwise he would not have visited Mânikyâla after his return to Taxila. He must therefore have gone by the more direct, but more difficult, route by Fatehjang and Nila to Kalar Kahâr and Mallot. By this route the distance is just 101 miles, which is sufficiently near the pilgrim's vague estimate of "about 117 miles." I believe, therefore, that Mallot is the place indicated[1]; and as Hwen-Thsang eventually returned to China by Singhapura, it would seem that the most frequented road through this table-land must then have been by Kalar Kahâr, and not by the Bakrâla Pass. By this route Baber made all his invasions of India, and the road was so well known that Kalar Kahâr received the name of *Darwâza Kahâr*, or "Gate Kahâr," because it was the gate leading to so many places. By Nila it led to Taxila and the Indus; by Chakowâl to Mânikyâla and Jhelam; by Karuli to the salt mines and Bhira; and by Nurpur to Kushâb and to the valleys of the Kuram and Gomal across the Indus.

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 192, where this identification is suggested.

The fort of Mallot is situated on a precipitous outlying spur of the Salt Range, 9 miles to the west of Ketâs, and the same distance to the south-east of Kalar Kahâr. The spur rises gently for some distance towards the south, and at its highest point ends abruptly in a precipitous cliff, overlooking the plains at a height of nearly 3,000 feet above the sea. The fort is of oblong shape, 2,000 feet from east to west and 1,500 feet from north to south, with a citadel on a higher level to the south, 1,200 feet long by 500 feet in width. The whole circuit is therefore about 8,000 feet[1]. At present the plain is nearly deserted, there being only a few houses near the gate on the north. But it is full of ruined houses, and the spur to the north is also covered with the remains of buildings to a distance of 2,000 feet beyond the fort. In its most flourishing days, therefore, the town and fort of Mallot must have had a circuit of not less than 12,000 feet, or upwards of 2¼ miles, which agrees exactly with the 2½ miles circuit of Singhapura, as estimated by Hwen-Thsang. The fort also fully justifies his description of being difficult of access, as it has a precipitous cliff of from 100 to 300 feet in height on three sides, and is protected by a cliff from 40 to 50 feet high, with high stone walls and towers on its only approachable face to the north. It would be utterly defenceless against guns, which could sweep its entire area from the opposite hill on the west. But as the nearest point of this hill is 1,500 feet distant, with a deep ravine between, Mallot must have been quite impregnable in the days of bows and arrows.

The fort is said to have been built by Raja Mallu, a Jajûha chief, whose date is quite unknown. Some refer him to the age of the Mahâbhârat, and some to the time of Mahmud. He is also said to have been the first Musalmân of the Jajûha tribe. But whatever may be Raja Mallu's true date, all the people agree that the tribe of Jajûha became Muhammadans in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. Some say that the fort was originally called Mamrod, Marrod, or Râmrôd; but all these names appear to be only anagrams of Mallot with the change of *r* to *l*. It is possible, however, that *Râmrôd* may be connected with *Râmkatta*, which is another name still remembered by the people.

[1] See Plate XXV for a plan of the fort.

General Abbott also mentions the name of *Shâhgarh*, but this was unknown to my informants. It is, however, a very probable name for the stronghold of a tribe whose chief had borne the title of *Shâhi*.

The only remains of any antiquity at Mallot are a temple and gateway in the Kashmirian style of architecture. They are built of a coarse sandstone of various shades of ochreous red and yellow, and many parts have suffered severely from the action of the weather, the surface having altogether crumbled away. The few statues which still remain are of course much mutilated, but the wonder is that any portions have escaped the iconoclastic hands of the Muhammadans during the long period of more than eight centuries.

The temple is a square of 18 feet inside, with a vestibule or entrance porch on the east towards the gateway[1]. On each side of the porch there is a round fluted pilaster or half pillar supporting the trefoiled arch of the opening, and on each side of the entrance door there is a smaller pilaster of the same kind with a smaller trefoiled arch. All these trefoiled arches have a T shaped key-stone two courses in depth, similar to those in the temples of Kashmir. The four corners of the building outside are ornamented with plain massive square pilasters, beyond which each face projects for 2½ feet, and is flanked by two semicircular fluted pilasters supporting a lofty trefoil arch.

On each capital there is a kneeling figure under a half trefoil canopy; and from each lower foil of the arch there springs a smaller fluted pilaster for the support of the cornice. In the recess between the large pilasters there is a highly ornamented niche with a trefoiled arch, flanked by small fluted pilasters. The roof of the niche first narrows by regular steps, and then widens into a bold projecting balcony, which supports three miniature temples, the middle one reaching up to the top of the great trefoiled recess. The plinth of the portico and the lower wall outside are ornamented all round with a broad band of deep mouldings nearly 2 feet in height, beneath which is the basement of the temple still 4 feet in height above the ruins.

The general effect of this façade is strikingly bold and picturesque. The height of the trefoiled arch and the

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[1] See Plate XXVI for plans of the temple and gateway.

massiveness of the square pilasters at the corners give an air of dignity to the building which is much enhanced by its richly fluted semi-circular pillars. This effect is rather marred by the introduction of the two small pilasters for the support of the cornice, as their bases rest on the evidently unsubstantial foundations of the half foils of the great arch.

The exterior pyramidal roof of the temple has long ago disappeared, but the ceiling or interior roof is still intact. That of the entrance porch or vestibule is divided into three squares, which are gradually lessened by overlapping stones. In the temple itself, the square is first reduced to an octagon by seven layers of overlapping stones in the corners; it then takes the form of a circle and is gradually reduced by fresh overlapping layers until the opening is small enough to be covered by a single slab. This slab has been removed, but all the overlapping layers are still in good order. The form of the dome appeared to me to be hemispherical. I was unable to measure the height; but according to my eye sketch of the façade the height of the cornice above the basement is exactly equal to the breadth of the temple, that is just 30 feet. In the interior there are 27 courses of stone to the first overlapping layer of the pendentives, which contain seven more courses. At 10 inches to each course, the height of the interior to the spring of the dome is therefore 28 feet 4 inches, to which must be added 1 foot 9 inches for the height of the floor of the temple above the exterior basement, thus making the spring of the dome 30 feet 1 inch above the basement. I believe therefore that the true height of the walls of the temple is just 30 feet.

The interior of the temple is quite plain, and there is no trace of statue or pedestal of any kind. It is said, however, that a lingam was once enshrined in the centre of the room. This is most probably true, as this form of temple in Kashmir would seem to have been peculiar to the Brahmanical worship of Mahadeva. The figures that are still left on the outside are so much mutilated that I was quite unable to recognize any one of them. It is certain, however, that they are not Buddhist figures, which are easily recognizable even in fragments[1].

[1] The temple was visited in 1848 by General Abbott, whose account will be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal *for 1849*, p. 105, accompanied by a sketch of the temple.

The gateway is situated at 58 feet due east of the temple. It is a massive building, 25 feet by 24 feet, and is divided into two rooms, each 15 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 3 inches[1]. On each side of these rooms to the north and south there are highly decorated niches for the reception of statues, similar to those in the portico of the temple. These niches are covered by trefoil arches which spring from flat pilasters. Each capital supports a statue of a lion under a half trefoil canopy, and on the lower foils of the great arch stand two small pilasters for the support of the cornice, like those which have been already described on the outside of the temple. The roof is entirely gone; but, judging from the square shape of the building, I conclude that it must have been pyramidal outside, with flat panelled ceilings of overlapping stones inside.

The shafts of the large pilasters have 12 flutes in the semi-circle. The accompanying sketch[2] was made by eye, as the capitals of the pilasters, which are 20 feet in height, were quite inaccessible without scaffolding. The capitals are of the true Kashmirian style of Doric, with the usual ornamented *torus;* but the spread of the cavetta, or hollow moulding above it, is greater than in any of the Kashmirian examples, which are more like the apophyges of the Greeks. But the base is the most peculiar feature of the Mallot pilaster. It is everywhere of the same height as the plinth mouldings. but differs entirely from them in every one of its details. In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of one of these bases, with its curious opening in the middle, where I thought that I could detect the continuation of the flutes of the shaft. But the mouldings of the exterior have been so much worn away by the weather, that it is not easy to ascertain their outlines correctly. The mouldings thus cut away are portions of a semi-circle, and as the complete semi-circle would have projected beyond the mouldings of the basement, it struck me that this device of removing the central portion was adopted to save the making of a projection in the basement to carry it. The effect is perhaps more singular than pleasing. At first I thought that these pilasters were without bases; but as these peculiar mouldings are found nowhere except immediately under the pilasters, they are

[1] See Plate XXVI.
[2] See Plate XXVII.

clearly intended for bases, however strange and unusual their forms may appear.

The people have no tradition about the temple, and ascribe its erection to the *Kauru-Pandu*, or Kauravas and Pândavas. The same thing is also said of all the temples in Kashmir.

Hwen-Thsang mentions that there was a stupa of Asoka at a short distance to the south of the town, and beside it a deserted monastery. If I am right in identifying Mallot with his Singhapura, the position must have been to the north of the town, where the ground is covered with the ruins of houses and broken pottery, whereas there are no signs of any occupation beneath the cliffs to the south.

KETÂS

From Singhapura the Chinese pilgrim travelled for 40 or 50 *li*, upwards of 8 miles, to the south-east to a stone stupa of Asoka, about 200 feet in height, which was surrounded by ten springs of water. I have already identified these springs with the holy fountain of Ketâs[1], and as I have again visited the place on my way from Mallot, I am now prepared to complete the identification. The relative positions of Mallot and Ketâs do not quite agree with Hwen-Thsang's statement, as Ketâs is exactly 9 miles distant from Mallot towards the east, instead of to the south-east. But the difference is only in the bearing, and I think there can be no doubt that Ketâs is the place that was visited by the pilgrim.

The ten tanks are described as forming a circle of moisture around the stupa. Their walls were of stone, sculptured with strange and wonderful figures. Their waters were clear, brawling and rapid, and swarmed with fish. Now this description agrees very exactly with what must have been the actual state of the Ketâs' stream at some former period. Immediately above the holy pool itself, I counted no less than seven other pools, some of which are still distinctly marked by the remains of walls attached to the bank. All these pools exist in a bend of the stream which forms three sides of a rough square, with a side of 500 feet. This bend is caused by a rocky spur about 50 feet in height, on the top of which now stands a Bairâgi's house. This point I take to have been the site of Asoka's stupa, 200

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 191, and Plate LXVII.

feet in height, as it corresponds exactly with the description of Hwen-Thsang. This identification is further confirmed by the existence of a ruined monastery on a mound 400 feet to the west, as it answers to the deserted monastery of Hwen-Thsang, which was close by the stupa. This building was 150 feet square, with numerous cross walls, and a well in the middle of the court-yard. As the walls were being dug out during my recent visit, there will probably be nothing left for a future visitor to inspect.

The stream is called the Ghâta Nâla[1], most probably from the ghât, through which it flows from the holy pool of Ketâs. The pool itself is said to have been called by various names. At first it was *Vis-Kûnd*, or "poison spring," because its waters were unwholesome. It was next called *Amar-Kûnd*, then *Châmar-Kûnd*, and lastly *Katâksh-Kûnd*, or the "spring of raining eyes," because on this spot tears rained from Siva's eyes on the death of his wife Sati. I suspect, however, that these other names must have belonged to different pools, and that in them we have the names of some of the ten pools mentioned by Hwen-Thsang. At present there is no visible flow of water in the bed of the stream above the holy pool of Ketâs; but as water lies everywhere above the holy spring in pools, there must be some constant source of supply in the upper part of the bed. Separate tanks might therefore be easily formed by building walls across the bed; and as the water fell from one tank to another, there would be a continuous gurgling or brawling noise, as noticed by the Chinese pilgrim. Below the holy pool itself, the stream is both rapid and brawling.

In my former account of Ketâs I noticed the broken embankment across the bed of the stream above the holy pool, which once retained the accumulated waters of the valley for irrigation. This embankment is said to have been made by Rajah Pâtak, the dewân of the Raja of Kashmir, many hundreds of years ago[2]. On the east side there was a deep cutting through the rock, 122 feet in length, 19 feet deep, and 10 feet wide, for the escape of the flood waters during the rains. This has now been widened to 21 feet, and is used for the passage of the high road between Kalar Kahâr

[1] In my former report, Archæological Survey of India, II, 192, it is called the Ganiya Nâla, a mistake for *Ghâtya*, which has the same meaning as Ghâta.

[2] In Vol. II, p. 188 of the Archæological Survey of India, this embankment is said to be 2½ feet thick, which is a misprint for 21½ feet.

and Pind Dâdan Khân. The construction of these useful works, and of the great temples at Mallot and other places, gives a better idea of the solid advantages of the Kashmirian rule, than all the windy panegyrics of the Raja Tarangini.

At a short distance from the stupa there was an inscription set up, to commemorate the spot where the founder of the heretical sect who wear white garments, that is, the Jain Swetâmbaras, was converted to Buddhism.[1] "Beside it there was a temple of the gods, whose followers practised severe austerities day and night. The law which the founder of this sect put forth was mainly stolen from the Buddhist books. The statue of their god resembled that of Buddha; there was no difference in the dress, and the marks of beauty were absolutely identical. The elders of these sectaries were called Bhikshus; and the younger Sramaneras." From this account it is clear that these sectaries were Jains; and as the pilgrim adds that they went naked, they must have belonged to the *Digambara* sect, whose only covering was the sky. But there were also some members of the other sect of *Swetâmbara*, or "white vested" Jains, as he mentions that if they wore garments they were always white[2].

This early notice of the Jains is interesting and valuable, as it seems not improbable that some of the *Swetâmbara* statues may easily have been mistaken for figures of Buddha.

The site of the Jaina temple may, I think, be identified with that of the large ruined temple, marked C in my plan of the ruins of Ketâs[3]. The basement, which is the only part now remaining, measures 68½ feet in length by 56½ feet in breadth. It is ornamented with a row of dumpy pilasters supporting a dentilled frieze, similar to the basements of Buddhist buildings at Shahdheri and Mânikyâla. It belongs therefore to a very early age, and is certainly much older than the group of Brahmanical temples in the Kashmirian style, which stand immediately above it.

To the north of this ruined temple there is a modern temple of the later Sikh period, which contains a lingam inside. But over the entrance door there is a standing figure in red stone, with four arms and three heads, a man's in the middle, a boar's to the right, and a lion's to the left.

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[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, II, 163.
[2] Ibid, II, pp. 163-164.
[3] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, P. LXVII

This I take to be a figure of the Tantrika god Vajra-Varâha. It was found on this site when the foundations of the present temple were being dug, along with two bas-reliefs and an inscription. The last is said to have been taken away on an elephant by a European and a Sikh chief about 25 years ago, and just before the annexation of the Punjâb in 1849. On this site there was formerly a large ruined building, called the "Dewân Khâna of the Pândus." It was therefore an ancient site.

KUTANWALA—PIND.

A good test of the antiquity of a place is the age of the coins that are found in its ruins. This test has been satisfactorily passea by both Ketâs and Mallot, as they have produced numerous coins of the early Indo-Scythian, as well as of the Kashmirian Rajas and the Jajuha Princes of Gondhâra. Both places must therefore have been occupied before the Christian era. Kalar Kahâr has also yielded the same series of coins with the addition of a single specimen of the early coinage of Taxila. But the most prolific site for coins is a ruined town near Bhon, just half way between Chakowâl and Kalar Kahar. The mound which is called *Kutánwála*, or *Kahutanwála Pind*, is very large, and has furnished stone sufficient to build Bhon itself, and all the neighbouring villages. Here I obtained no less than 250 coins, of which I recognized 197. Of these, two were pure Greek, of Heliokles and Antialkidas; eighty-nine were Indo-Scythian, from Vonones and Moas down to Vasu Deva, with a single gold coin of Bâsata; ten were of the Hindu Rajas of Kashmir, twelve of the Jajûha Rajas of Gândhâra, and two of Prithi Raj of Delhi. The remainder were forty Muhammadans of Kashmir and thirty-seven Muhammadans of Delhi, from Muhammad-bin-Sâm to Humâyun. This site is on the high road from Shahdheri *viâ* Nila to Kalar Kahâr. The mound is covered with foundations of stone buildings and broken bricks of large size. It possesses one square ruin like the remains of monastery, and a circular ruin like the remains of a tope; but the latter has been excavated, and its nature may therefore be doubtful.

MAIRA.

Ten miles to the west of Kalar Kahâr there is an old village called *Maira*, with a square-mouthed well containing

an Arian inscription on three sides. The place is rather difficult of access, and does not appear to have ever been of any consequence.

The inscription was discovered by Colonel Robinson, of the Engineers, during his survey of the Salt Range, and he kindly sent me his copy of it, which is marked A in the accompanying plate[1]. A second copy, marked B, was obtained through Colonel Bristow. The third copy, marked C, was made by one of my native servants by eye with a pencil over a paper impression; and the fourth copy, marked D, was pencilled by myself over a similar paper impression. Even with all these aids I can make but little out of the inscription, except the date which is contained in the upper line of the north side. Beginning with the sixth letter, I read "Sam 20 + 20 + 10 + 4 + 4 (=58) in the Samvat year 58." This seems to be followed in the upper line of the west side by *Chetrasa* 4. The following are only tentative readings:—

EAST SIDE.

1. *Suprachhasa dhainavadasa-cha la*
2. *Apadalacha nanayapa danu.*

NORTH SIDE.

1. *Savasa* + + *Sam* 20—20—10· 4· 4 (=58.)
2. Illegible.
3. *Amami nama namathava.*

WEST SIDE.

1. *Chhatrasa* 4 *ya atra kha atta.*

The date seems to me to be nearly certain; but I can find no trace of any royal title. I think it probable, however, that the two opening lines on the east side may contain only the names of the builders of the well. This is a very meagre account of an ancient record; but the difficulty of making a good copy is very great; and until the stones are taken out of the well and properly cleaned, I am afraid that it will continue to baffle the most expert copyist. The well is square above for about 10 feet, like many ancient Buddhist wells and like the Burmese wells of the present day.

PLAINS OF THE PANJAB.

The sites of all the old cities in the plains of the Panjâb are marked by great mounds of ruins, similar to those on

[1] See Plate XXVIII for four copies of this inscription.

the Yusufzai plain. But the latter are formed entirely of the remains of stone buildings, of which the mouldings and sculptures still retain their original shapes, and thus serve to give a very fair idea of the style and character of the architecture of ancient Gândhâra. The former, on the contrary, are wholly composed of brick ruins, from which it is almost impossible to form even the faintest idea of the style of building that prevailed throughout the plains of the Panjâb. There are, however, numerous specimens of carved and moulded bricks to be found on all these ancient sites, but they are too few and too much broken to give more than a few hints as to the style of the buildings to which they belonged. Most of the carved bricks that I have seen are parts of cornices; but there are several specimens of dentils, which, with a few pieces of alto-relievos, lead me to suppose that the temples and principal buildings of the brick country were of the same character as those of the stone country, but the ornamentation was probably less bold owing to the brittleness of the material. The old Hindus, however, would seem to have been very skilful in brick carving as well as in brick moulding, as many well executed specimens may be found on almost every site. The art is still preserved in Multân and a few other places.

Nearly all the old cities of the Panjâb were built on the banks of its great rivers. Such are—Kâfir Kot and Billot on the Indus; Jhelam, Dârâpur, and Jobnâthnagar, on the Jhelam; Sodra, Chanyot, and Shorkot, on the Chenab; Lahor, Akbar, Bavanni, Tulamba, and Multan, on the Râvi; Kasûr and Depâlpur on the Biâs; and Ajudhan and Kehror on the Sutlej. Several cities, however, were placed on the smaller streams; as Pathânkot on the Chakki, Jâlandhar on the Kâli Vehi, and Amba-Kâpi on the Bâgh-bacha, within the Panjâb: and to the east of the Satlej, but still belonging to the Panjâb river system, are, Sarhind on the Choya, Bhatner on the Ghaghar, Thânesar on the Sarsuti, and Hânsi on the Chitang. The few exceptions are Taxila, Mânikyâla, and Sangala, in the Panjab, and Tushâm to the east of Satlej. But the choice of these positions was influenced by military or religious considerations, which must have led to their occupation at an early date. Both Taxila and Sangala are strong military positions, while Mânikyâla and Tushâm were most probably only religious sites.

JOBNATH NAGAR.

On the right bank of the Jhelam, to the north-east of Ahmedabad, there are two large mounds close together, now called *Bhurâri* and *Bhadrâri*, both of which names are said to be contractions of *Bhadrâvati-nagari*, the capital of Raja *Jobnath*, whose wife was *Prabhavati*. In Buddhist history the husband of Prabhâvati, named *Kusa*, is famous for the strength of his voice, which could be heard through the whole of Jambudwipa. He was the king of *Sâgal*, or *Sangala*, and "when the seven kings went to Sâgal to carry off Prabhâvati, he entered the street upon an elephant, accompanied by the queen, and called out, 'I am King Kusa[1].'" I have already suggested the identity of Jobnâth and Sophytes or Sopeithes, the contemporary of Alexander, whose capital was three days' journey by boat below Bukephala and Nikæa on the Hydaspes[2], or exactly in the position of Bhurâri. But as I take Jobnâth to have been only the title and not the name of the king, I do not suppose that Kusa can be identified with Sophytes, the contemporary of Alexander. Jobnâth is said to have had a son, named Suveg, , who had the strength of ten thousand elephants, and he purposed to perform an *Aswamedha* "or horse sacrifice." When the Pândus heard of his intention, they determined to prevent it. Then *Bhim* and *Meghavarn* and *Brikh-ket* came to Bhadrâvatinagari to carry off the horse. Meghavarn caused darkness to fall around the place where the horse was kept, so that it might be carried off quietly. But Suveg advanced against the Pândus, and a great battle was fought, and the Pândus were victorious, and carried off the horse and all Raja Jobnâth's family to Hastinapur.

This account is said to exist in the Pândava Aswamedha of Jyaman Rikhi, who was a disciple of Vyâs. But other accounts say that the horse was carried off during the reign of Raja Jobnâth, the husband of Prabhâvati.

The antiquity of the mound of *Bhurâri* is proved by the numbers of ancient coins and beads of all sizes which are dug up amongst its ruins. These coins begin with the earliest Hindu pieces which were current before the Greek occupation of the Panjâb, and comprise specimens of the

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[1] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 263, note.

[2] Archæological Survey Report, Vol. II, pp. 39-40. I have a strong suspicion that Jobnath is only a slightly altered form of Jobnâs, or Yuvanâswa, whose Aswamedha horse was carried off by the Pândus from Bhadrâvati.

Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Sassanian, and Kashmirian mints, ending with the well-known silver and copper pieces of the Jajuha Princes of Gandhâra.

SHORKOT.

The old fort of Shorkot is the loftiest of all the mounds that I have seen in the Panjâb, being just 100 feet in height above the surrounding fields. In shape it is a rectangle, 1,600 feet in length from east to west, by 1,200 feet in breadth, with a general height of 70 feet in the main line of walls, and of 100 feet in the loftiest part of the citadel.[1] Beyond the main line of wall there was also a broad fausse-braie, with an outer line of works, 35 feet in height. There is no trace of a ditch at present; but from the appearance of the country on the two sides towards the Chenâb, I think it nearly certain that there must have been a ditch on those faces. The original site would appear to have been a natural eminence on the bank of the Chenâb River, but the greater portion of the mass is certainly artificial, as numerous walls both of burnt and sun-dried bricks are found at all depths, down to 50 and 60 feet below the main level of the fort. The towers and curtain walls were formed of *solid* masses of sun-dried bricks, faced with burnt bricks; and the same solid masses are found at all depths in the numerous channels which have been scooped out of the mound by the annual rains of many centuries. Some of these sections are more than 50 feet deep, at a distance of 300 feet inside the line of wall. The faussebraie also was constructed of solid masses of sun-burnt bricks, which may still be seen in the lower tower at the south-east corner. It is possible that the walls of this outer line were not faced with burnt brick, as no portions now remain; but it seems more probable that they were so faced, and that the burnt bricks have been gradually removed to build the houses in the present town. There are two great openings, one on the east and the other on the south, which are now used as entrances, and which the people say were the gates of the fort. There would appear also to have been a third gate at the north-west corner, where there is at present a deep channel.

To the east there is a large sheet of water abounding in fish. It looks very much like the bed of an old branch of

[1] See Plate XXIX for a plan of the fort.

the Chenab; but it is no doubt partly artificial, and was the source from whence the many millions of sun-dried bricks were obtained for raising the mass of the fort. It is remarkable that there are no old brick kilns at Shorkot, unless the mounds to the south, which are now covered with Muhammadan tombs, were originally kilns, and not the ruins of the southern half of the city. I have noticed the absence of kiln-mounds at other ancient places, such as Harapa and Bavanni, from which I infer that the mass of the houses at all these places must have been made of sun-dried bricks. At Multân, as well as at Lahor and Agra, the number of lofty brick kilns girdling the city is one of the most striking features on approaching the place, and on entering it their number is satisfactorily accounted for by finding that nearly all the houses are built of burnt bricks. The relative importance of Multân and Shorkot may be fairly judged by this striking evidence of the superior wealth that was lavished on the buildings of Multân.

Shorkot was visited by Burnes, in 1831, on his way to Lahor. He describes it as being "much larger than Sehwan, and of the same description; *viz.*, a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick wall, and so high as to be seen for a circuit of 6 or 8 miles[1]." This estimate of the size of Shorkot is correct, as Sehwan is only half its size, or 750 feet by 1,200 feet; whereas Shorkot is 1,600 feet by 1,200 feet. Burnes adds that "the traditions of the people state that a Hindu Raja of the name *Shor* ruled in this city, and was attacked by a king from *Wilayet* or the 'countries westward', about thirteen hundred years ago and overcome through supernatural means."

The common belief amongst the Hindus is that the fort was built by Raja Shor. But the Muhammadans generally refer the origin of the name to their local saint, Taj-ud-din Shorkoti, who is buried on the very top of the fort. Their story is, that when the fort was built, one side of it repeatedly gave way and fell down. A fakir [my informant was a Muhammadan] advised the Raja to put a first-born boy under the rampart. The sacrifice was made, and the wall stood. Then the mother of the victim went to Mecca, and returned with a Muhammadan army, but the place was too strong to

[1] Travels into Bokhara, III. 131

be taken by force. Then a fakir, named *Tâjan Shori*, transformed himself into a cock, and entered the Raja's palace, where he suddenly set up a loud crow. The Raja was frightened, and instantly abandoned the fort. Then turning round towards the place, he exclaimed: "Shame on thee, O Fort, to remain standing," when the walls at once fell down, and the place has ever since been called *Shorkot*, after the Fakir Tâjan Shor.

But the title of *Shori* or *Shorkoti* given to this saint was certainly derived from the place. He is said to have been both a *Ghâzi* and a *Shâhid*, or "warrior and martyr" for the faith; and his tomb, by frequent repairs and additions, has now assumed the proportions of a *Nao-gaja*, or giant. He was most probably one of the original Muhammadan invaders who was killed at the capture of the fort, and was afterwards revered as a martyr.

The antiquity of Shorkot is proved by the number of ancient coins which are annually found in its ruins. Burnes obtained a single coin of the Greek King Apollodotus; and during my long residence at Multân, I received annually large parcels of Indo-Scythian coins from Shorkot. During my late visit I got several Indo-Scythian coins, and a number of Muhammadan coins of all ages, along with two old Hindu coins. The great antiquity of the place is therefore undoubted; and I have a suspicion that it may have been the city named after Alexander the Great, Alexandria Sôriane. I once thought that the silence of Timur's historians as to Shorkot might be taken as a proof that the fort was no longer defensible. But Timur's march lay along the opposite bank of the Chenab, and Shorkot thus escaped the notice of that merciless savage. I have now found clear evidence of its existence upwards of 30 years later, during the reign of his grandson, Shah Rokh. Amir Shekh Ali, the Governor of Kabul, under Shah Rokh invaded the Panjâb in A.D. 1432, during the reign of Mubârak Sayid. He captured both Shor[1] and Lahor, and placed a garrison of 2,000 men in the former under the command of his nephew, Muzafar Khan. Mubârak proceeded in person into the Panjâb, and "crossed the river near Tulamba and invested Shor. Muzafar Khan defended the place for a whole

[1] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 528. The translator writes the name as *Shiwur*, but it is clearly the famous fort of *Shor*, or Shorkot.

month, but being hard-pressed he capitulated, and moreover gave his daughter to the king, and paid a large ransom for his liberty."

The fort of Shor was still occupied in A.D. 1469, when Husen Langa of Multân obtained possession of it from Ghâzi Khan after a gallant resistance[1]. At a still later date, in 1502, the fort of Shor was occupied by Jâm Bâyâzid, the rebel minister of Mahmud Langa, and transferred by him to Sikander Ludi, king of Delhi[2].

The Brahmans say that the original name of the place was *Shivanagari* or *Sheopur*, which was gradually contracted to *Shor*. This receives some countenance from Ferishta, who writes the name *Shiür* or *Shivr*, (شیور) as if it was a contraction of Sheopur. If this be the correct derivation, there is probably a very early mention of the place in the campaign of Muhammad Bin Kâsim as *Sobur* (سوبور) or *Sorbadr* (سوربدر[3]). In these two different readings I recognize the forms of *pur* and *nagar* by a slight alteration of the diacritical points.

There are no remains of any building in the fort except at a great depth under ground—all remains near the surface having been dug up long ago to build houses in the town.

The only relics of antiquity that are now obtainable are coins, beads, and moulded bricks.

The first I have already noticed. The second are mostly formed of hard stone, such as crystal, agate, cornelian, jasper, lapis-lazuli, with a few of sard, and an occasional sardonyx; some of the beads are upwards of an inch in length, but in general they are round or flat, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter.

The moulded bricks are the most characteristic feature of all the old cities in the plains of the Panjâb. They are found of all sizes, from about 6 inches to 18 inches in length. The variety of patterns is infinite, and some of them are very bold and effective. In the accompanying plate[4] I have made a selection of the most striking specimens, which will be sufficient to show the general style of ornamentation that prevailed at Shorkot.

Figure 1 is a diaper pattern, which is very common in the Muhammadan buildings of Bengal, of which the earliest

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[1] Briggs's Ferishta, IV, 385.
[2] Ibid, IV, 394.
[3] Chachnâma in Dowson's edition of Sir H. Elliot, I, 207.
[4] See Plate XXX, figures 1 to 8.

specimen is in the great Adina Masjid of Sikandar at Hazrat Pandüa. In Bengal the bricks are small squares with the pattern on the face; but in this ancient Shorkot example the pattern is formed on the edge of the brick, which is built into the wall as a regular course.

Figure 2 is a large brick, 14½ by 10 by 2¼ inches, which I dug up in one of the water channels more than 50 feet below the surface of the mound. It is a hard, vitrified brick of a mixed black and yellow colour. It looks as if it had formed part of a cornice.

Figure 3 is a hard, vitrified brick of a dark-blue colour. The edges of the leaves are as sharp as when first cut in the wet state. I conjecture that this must have formed part of a string course.

Figure 4 is a dentil of hard, vitrified brick of a black colour, which was found placed upside down in one of the buildings of the town. It is clearly intended for an elephant's head, with the trunk upraised for support, which is a common design for a stone bracket even at the present day. With its projection of 7 inches, the cornice which it supported must have stood out at least one foot beyond the face of the building to which it belonged.—Figure 5 shows the front view of the bracket.

Figure 6 is part of a cornice with the favorite pattern of sunken squares on the flat face, and the leaf pattern on the rounded face. The height is 2¾ inches, and the total projection 3 inches.

Figure 7 is one of two perfect specimens of a very common leaf pattern. These bricks are of large size, 13 by 8½ by 3 inches, and are generally well vitrified. The specimen here given is enriched by a second row of leaves, I presume that it formed part of a cornice.

Figure 8 is another specimen of cornice moulding on a much smaller scale, the brick being only 2¾ inches thick with a double line of moulding. The projection is decidedly marked by lines on both sides as well as underneath. A line of these bricks may have rested on a row of dentils or brackets like No. 4, and if the bricks were 13½ inches long, the clear spaces between the brackets would have been 9 inches or just twice the width of the dentil or bracket. The diaper pattern of small sunken squares has always been a favorite with the Hindu sculptors. It is of common occurrence in the Yusufzai alto-relievos, and forms one of the most effective

lines of moulding in the ornamentation of the great Tope of Dhâmek at Sarnath, near Banâras.

Some of the moulded bricks of Shorkot have been found bearing short inscriptions[1], which, although they are simple mason's marks, are valuable on account of their antiquity, as their characters belong to the age of the Guptas, or from A.D. 79 to 319.

Figure A is a large brick, 13½ inches by 10¾ by 2½ inches, with three lines of writing, which I read as—

> *Pala* 8 *a*: *Chatu-*
> *rddasamika*
> 14.
> "*Panel*, 8; *fourteenth*, 14 (*brick or course*)."

This brick has one corner cut out of it 2½ inches in depth; hence the necessity for some record to guide the mason in placing it as the 14th brick in the 8th *pala* or panel.

Figure B has one-third of its length cut out in a sloping direction; hence the necessity for the mason's record as to its position. The writing is in two lines—

> *Dakshina paschem kundala*
> *vadaka Chaturthika* 4.

"South-west circle, *vadaka*, the fourth, 4." The ***kundal*** or circle most probably refers to a round tower at the south-west corner of the building to which it belonged. ***Vadaka*** probably means a string course or horizontal moulding, as the same word is apparently intended by *vatta* in the next inscription, which signifies "level or even."

Figure C has one corner cut out in a curved slope 4 inches in depth. It is 10½ inches square and 3½ inches thick. The inscription on the face of the brick is in two lines.

> *Isri Mulasya*
> *Kundaleka vatta*

In this record I take *Isri **Mula*** to be the name of the owner of the house, and I read the whole simply as "*vatta* (string course) of the tower of *Isri **Mula***."

Figure D is a large brick 10½ inches square by 3½ inches thick, with the half of the inscribed face curved as in the

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[1] See Plate XXX, Figs. A to E. These inscribed bricks were obtained by General Van Cortlandt, and are now in the Lahor Museum.

sketch. The inscription consists of two lines, of which the lower one is much injured; but enough is left to show that it was the same as the lower line of the next record marked E.

Fig. D reads—

A : pama dwi—
—saptatika.

Fig. E is a large brick, with one corner cut out, and a legible inscription in two lines—

I pama dwi—
—saptatika

Both of these bricks, D and E, belonged to the "seventy-second *pama*" of the building. I cannot even guess what may be the meaning of *pama*, but I conjecture that the opening letters A and I of the two records may refer to *lettered* portions of the building in contradistinction to the other parts that were numbered.

As the forms of both letters and numbers in these inscriptions agree exactly with those of the later Indo-Scythian and early Gupta inscriptions, which belong to first and second centuries of the Christian era, I do not hesitate in assigning these records to the same period or from 50 to 150 A D. I searched in vain for other inscribed bricks. Some of the people, who professed to remember the discovery of the five bricks just described, informed me that they were found in an excavation in the southern entrance. Accepting this statement as true, I think it probable that they belonged to one of the towers of the great southern gateway looking towards Multan. I have not met with any inscribed bricks at other places, but I believe that some will be found hereafter, as it has been the custom of the Hindu masons of all ages to mark particular stones and bricks in this very practical and useful fashion for the guidance of the builders.

BAVANNI.

Bavanni is a lofty, ruined fort, on the old bank of the Râvi, 10 miles from the new station of Montgomery, and 16 miles above Harapa. The fort is a square of 800 feet each side, with massive towers of large sun-dried bricks, rising to a height of 60 feet above the country. In the rains it is surrounded by the flood waters of the Râvi. The Sikhs occupied it for some time, and erected a small castle on the

top of the mound. The remains of two large wells have been found in the deep channels cut by the annual rains in the northern and western faces, that to the west being 18 feet in diameter.

Nothing is known of the origin of the place, but it is said to have derived its present name from *Wali Bavanni*, a Muhammadan who restored it several hundred years ago. On an old mound to the westward, there is the tomb of a *Ndogaza*, or "nine-yarder," named Muhammad Shah, which is 32 feet long. As usual he is said to have been a *Ghâzi* and a *Shâhid*, or "a warrior and martyr for the faith," and I conclude that he must have been one of the original Muhammadan invaders who fell in the attack on Bavanni.

The name of the place is written *Banvanni* in our maps, but it is spelt *Bavanni* by the Baniyas, who are the only villagers that can write. During my stay at the place, I obtained a small silver coin with a few letters on one side, which appear to be *Sri* * **Bhavan*[1]. This may be either the name of the place or of its founder.

Numerous ornamented bricks are found in the ruins of Bavanni, but all that I saw appeared to have been carved after burning, and not moulded before burning. I have selected a number of specimens to show the general style of ornamentation which prevailed in the plains of the Panjâb before the Muhammadan invasion. Several of these patterns have been found also at Shorkot and at other places.

Fig. 2 is now used as an ornament over the entrance door of the simple village masjid. It was a favourite ornament in the old Buddhist caves, and was afterwards adopted by the Brahmans in their temples.[2]

Fig. 3 seems intended for a small panel, as it has a border all round, but it may have been only a single portion of a continuous diaper facing.

Fig. 4 is worked only on the edge. As I presume from the leaf pattern that the brick was probably placed upright, it may have formed part of the side architrave of a door.

Fig. 5 was a favourite pattern at Shorkot and Tulamba. The surface is divided into squares, every alternate square being sunk in a sloping direction. These cuts were made by

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[1] See Plate XXXI, Fig. 1.

[2] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, Plates 79, 80 and 83.

a chisel, or small hammer with one chisel end, called *basuli*. The brick probably formed part of a string course.

Fig. 6 is a simple pattern of running leaves not very deeply cut.

Fig. 7 is rounded at one end and straight at the other, and has only one place ornamented. I cannot even guess for what purpose it was intended.

Fig. 8 is a single flower of a continuous string course of the same pattern.

Figs. 9 and 10 are projecting leaf patterns of parts of a cornice. They are very common, and are found in all the old mounds of the Panjâb.

Figs. 11 and 12, basement courses of plain flat leaves. Both of these patterns are in common use at the present day as string courses of plinths and basements.

HARAPA.

The ruins of Harapâ are the most extensive of all the old sites along the banks of the Râvi. On the north, the west, and the south, there is a continuous line of mounds about 3,500 feet in length; but on the east side, which is only 2,000 feet in length, there is a complete gap of 800 feet, for which I am unable to account. The whole circuit of the ruins is therefore about 12,500 feet, or nearly 2½ miles.[1] The highest mound is that to the north-west, which is 60 feet above the fields. On the south-west and south the mounds range from 40 to 50 feet in height, and on the north side towards the old bed of the Râvi, from 25 to 30 feet. Burnes speaks of "a *ruined citadel* on the river-side of the town,[2]" by which I suppose he means the *western* side, which is the most commanding portion of the ruins. Masson calls it "a ruinous brick castle," and distinctly states that it was situated to the west, on what he erroneously supposed to be a natural rocky height[3], but which is only an accumulation of masses of brick walls and broken bricks. He describes "the walls and towers of the castle" as being "remarkably high, though, from having been long deserted, they exhibit in some parts the ravages of time and decay." I believe that

[1] See Plate XXXII.
[2] Travels into Bokhara, III, 137.
[3] Journeys in Beluchistan, &c., I, 452.

Masson's visit was made in 1826; and just five years later, when Burnes was on his way to Lahor, the brick castle was already "ruinous." In 1853 I was informed that Mer Singh, a Sikh, had built a fort at Harapâ, some 70 years ago, or about A. D. 1780. Perhaps this was the castle seen by Masson and Burnes.

In 1853, and again in 1856, I traced the remains of flights of steps on both the eastern and western faces of the high mound to the north-west, as well as the basement of a large square building. Here the people say was the site of a great Hindu temple in the time of Raja Har Pâl or Hara Pâla. But there are no traces of any castle at the present day.

On the same mound, but lower down towards the east, there is a tomb of a *Naogaja* named Nûr Shah, which is 46 feet long and 3½ feet broad.[1] Besides the tomb there were formerly three large stones, which the people believed to be the thumb rings of the gigantic Naogaja.[2] These three stones are now on the plain below. The largest one is a black stone, 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, which is said to have been the *nag*, or gem of the ring. The other two are each 2 feet in diameter and 1 foot 1½ inch high, with a hole through the middle, 10½ inches in diameter. These are called *nâl* and *manka*, and are said to be the thumb rings of the giant. They are made of yellow ochreous limestone, and are very peculiar in shape, which is difficult to describe. They may be called undulated rings of stone; but the best idea of their shape will be derived from the accompanying sketch.[3]

About 70 feet still lower down the eastern slope of the mound there is a small ruined Idgâh, which is said to have been built in the reign of Akbar.

On the south face of the southern mound, there are the traces of a large square building with rooms on four sides surrounding a court-yard, as in a Buddhist monastery. The walls were very massive; but the whole have now been removed to form ballast for the Railway. Perhaps the best

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[1] Burnes, by some oversight, makes this tomb only 18 feet in length.—Travels into Bokhara, III, 137.

[2] Masson's Travels, &c., I, 452.—"I examined the remains on *the height*, and found two circular perforated stones." See also Burnes's Travels, III, 137.—"A large stone of a circular form and a huge black slab of a novel shape *which lie near* the grave, &c."

[3] See Plate XXXIII, Figs. 6 and 7.

idea of the extent of the ruined brick mounds of Harapâ may be formed from the fact that they have more than sufficed to furnish brick ballast for about 100 miles of the Lahor and Multân Railway.

The people refer the ruin of Harapâ to the wickedness of a Raja named Har Pâl, or Hara Pâla, who was in the habit of claiming the sovereign's rights at every bridal. At last, in the exercise of this royal privilege, he committed incest with a near relative. Some say his own sister, others his wife's sister, or his wife's sister's daughter. The girl prayed to heaven for vengeance, and then the city of Harapâ was instantly destroyed. Some say it was by fire, and some by an earthquake; others say that an invader suddenly appeared, and that the city was taken by storm, and the Raja killed. The period of its destruction is vaguely said to be 1,200 or 1,300 years ago. If the date is correct, the city of Harapâ must have been destroyed by Muhammad-bin-Kasim in A. D. 713, just 1,260 years ago. I am inclined to put some faith in this belief of the people, as they tell the same story of all the ruined cities in the plains of the Panjâb, as if they had all suffered at the same time from some sudden and common catastrophe, such as the overwhelming invasion of the Arabs under Muhammad-bin-Kasim. The story of the incest also belongs to the same period, as Raja Dahir of Alor is said to have married his own sister.

In another place[1] I have advocated the claims of Shorkot to be identified with the city of *Po-fa-to*, or *Po-fa-to-lo*, where the Chinese pilgrim halted for two months to study the principles of the sect of *Sammitiyas*.[2] But I have now visited Shorkot, and I have satisfied myself that it never could have reached the size of 20 *li*, or upwards of three miles in circuit, which the pilgrim assigns to *Po-fa-to*, or *Po-fa-to-lo*. But the size agrees almost exactly with that of Harapâ,[3] and as the position otherwise corresponds, I believe that Harapâ must be the very city visited by the Chinese pilgrim. He describes the population as very dense. There were four stupas and twelve monasteries counting about 1,000 monks, besides twenty Brahmanical

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[1] Ancient Geography of India, I, 203.
[2] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, I, 210.
[3] Burnes' Travels into Bokhara, III, 187, makes the circumference of Harapâ "abou three miles."

temples. Near the town there was a large ruined monastery which had been destroyed by lightning.

I am unable to offer any explanation of the name of *Po-fa-to*, or *Po-fa-to-lo*, which M. Julien has altered to *Po-lo-fa-to*, for the purpose of making it agree with a known Sanskrit word, *parvata*, or "mountain." But as Harapâ is in the open plain, this reading does not commend itself for acceptance. The name of *Bavanni* seems to offer the best equivalent of the first two syllables *Po-fa*, but *Bavanni* could never have been even one-half the size of the *Po-fa-to-lo* of Hwen-Thsang.

I made several excavations at Harapâ, but the whole surface had been so completely cleared out by the Railway contractors that I found very little worth preserving. My chief discovery consisted of a number of stone implements for scraping wood or leather. Several specimens of these are given in the accompanying plate.[1] Most of them have one edge more obtuse than the other, with a flat surface between; but a few have the two edges alike, with a single ridge between them. They are nearly all made of a dull cream coloured stone, but a few of these are nearly black in colour.

My excavations also brought to light numerous specimens of ancient pottery, of which I have given some sketches in the accompanying plate. Fig. 22 appears to be a clay spoon or ladle.

The most curious object discovered at Harapâ is a seal, belonging to Major Clark, which was found along with two small objects like chess pawns, made of a dark brown jasper. All these are shewn in the accompanying plate.[2] The seal is a smooth black stone without polish. On it is engraved very deeply a bull, without hump, looking to the right, with two stars under the neck. Above the bull there is an inscription in six characters, which are quite unknown to me. They are certainly not Indian letters; and as the bull which accompanies them is without a hump, I conclude that the seal is foreign to India.

Harapâ has yielded thousands of coins of the Indo-Scythians and their successors; but I am not aware of the discovery of a single Greek coin.

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[1] See Plate XXXIII, Figs. 3, 4, and 5.
[2] See Plate XXXIII, Figs. 1 and 2.

DEPALPUR.

The great fortified city of Depâlpur was one of the principal places in the Panjâb throughout the whole period of the Pathan rule. In the middle of the thirteenth century, it formed one of the chief places under the government of the famous Shir Khan, the terror of the Mughals. Towards the end of that century it was held by Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban, who was killed after gaining a well-contested fight against the Mughals. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, it came under the rule of Ghazi Beg Tughlak, who was afterwards king of Delhi. It was a favourite residence of Firoz Tughlak, who is said to have drawn a canal from the Sutlej to irrigate the lands of Depâlpur. Shortly after his death it was under the government of Sârang Khan, who, after several fights with Sayid Khizr Khan, Governor of Multân, was at length defeated and killed by his opponent in A. D. 1405. Khizr Khan had prudently waited upon Timur, and from him had received the appointment of Governor of the Panjâb and Depâlpur.[1] With the combined troops of Multân, Panjâb, and Depâlpur, Khizr Khan marched by Rohtak to Delhi, but was obliged to retire. On a second advance he was successful, and became king of Delhi in A. D. 1414. Some years later, in A. D. 1436, it fell into the hands of Bahlol Lodi, who held "Panjâb, Depâlpur, and Sarhind,[2]" as an independent sovereignty, until 1450, when he seized the kingdom of Delhi.

From this brief sketch we learn that, during the short space of two centuries, no less than three Governors of the Eastern Panjâb had succeeded in seizing the kingdom of Delhi. Their power was, doubtless, derived from the martial character of the people over whom they ruled, which had been continuously strengthened by repeated victories over the Mughals.

After Bahlol's accession to the throne of Delhi, we hear nothing more of Depâlpur until the time of Baber, who took it by storm from the Lodi King, and plundered the town after killing all its defenders.[3] Its subsequent fate is unknown; but I infer that it continued to decline, as the successors of Baber adopted Lahor as the seat of government of the

[1] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 507
[2] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 541.
[3] Erskine's Baber and Humayun, I ,418

Eastern Panjâb, and made a new road to it far to the northward, through Sarhind and Jâlandhar. At present it is very nearly deserted, there being only one inhabited street running between the two gates. But a tradition of its former importance still remains amongst the people, who affirm that it originally possessed 84 masjids, 84 towers, and 84 wells. Of the towers, 61 still remain standing, and there must have been at least 23 more in the fortified walls of the two outworks to the south.[1] It is quite possible, therefore, that the story of the 84 masjids and 84 wells may also be true.

In shape Depâlpur is a square of nearly 1,600 feet side, with a square projection of 500 feet side on the south-east. On the south-west, there is a ruined mound outside the ditch, which is said to have been the citadel. This is most probably true, as the mound is lofty and commanding, and is connected with the town by a bridge of three arches, which is still standing. To the south and east, there are also long mounds of ruins, which are, no doubt, the remains of the suburbs. The actual ruins of Depâlpur, including the citadel and suburbs, occupy a space of three quarters of a mile in length by half a mile in breadth, and 2½ miles in circuit. But in its flourishing days, it must have been much larger, as the fields to the east are strewn with bricks right up to the bank of a canal on which there formerly stood a masjid of Feroz Shah. In another place[2] I have argued that "this extension of the city beyond the walls may also be inferred from the fact that the people of Depâlpur, on Timur's invasion, sought refuge in Bhatner, which they would not have done if their own city had been defensible.

The foundation of the city is ascribed to Raja Deva Pâla, of whom nothing is known. Its antiquity is proved by the accumulation of ruins inside the walls, which has raised the level of the greater part of the interior, on which the present houses are built, up to the terreplein of the ramparts. The old coins which are found there in great numbers also vouch for its antiquity, as they begin with the Indo-Scythians, and continue through an unbroken series down to the present day. Depâlpur is first mentioned in the campaign of Muhammad-bin-Kasim, who in A. D. 714, after the capture of Multân, advanced by Depâlpur towards

[1] See Plate XXXIV.
[2] Ancient Geography of India, 1213.

Kashmir. But the coins show that it had existed for many centuries previously.

The old masjid ascribed to Firoz Shah was the only ancient building existing when I visited Depâlpur in November 1838. This was pulled down soon after our occupation of the Panjâb to furnish materials for some civil buildings. Externally it consisted of a front of five low-pointed arches resting on massive piers, with a similar arch at each end. But the interior was highly decorated with diaper and arabesque medallions in white stucco on a sky-blue ground. The roof consisted of fine, stout, low domes, which sprang from arched pendentives spanning the corners of the inside squares. There was no inscription about the building, but I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the people's attribution to Firoz Shah, as the building was of the same massive character as the Kalân and Khirki Masjids at Delhi, which undoubtedly belong to his reign.

TULAMBA.

The present town of Tulamba is said to have been built by Shujâwal Khan, the son-in-law and Minister of Mahmud Langa of Multân, between A. D. 1510 and 1525. The old fortress, which had escaped the arms of Timur, was situated upwards of one mile to the south of the modern town. It was upwards of 1,000 feet square, the outer rampart being about 200 feet thick, and from 35 to 40 feet in height above the fields. Inside there is a clear space of 100 feet in width and 15 feet above the country, surrounding an inner fort upwards of 400 feet square and 60 feet in height above the level of the faussebraie. The eastern ramparts of this inner fort are still upwards of 50 feet in thickness.[1] The whole was originally faced with brick walls, the traces of which still exist in the horizontal lines of the courses on the outer faces of the ramparts, and in the numerous pieces of brick lying about in all directions. This strong, old fort is said to have been abandoned in consequence of a change in the course of the Râvi, which took a more northerly course, and thus cut off the principal supply of water. The brick facings of the old ramparts were then removed to build the walls of the new town, in which it is curious to see numerous carved and moulded bricks placed in various odd posi-

[1] PlateXXV for a plan and section of the fort of Tulamba.

tions, sometimes singly, sometimes in lines of five or six, and frequently upside down.

The true name of the place is said to have been *Kulamba*, or *Kulambha*; but no meaning is assigned to the name, and no reason is given for the change to *Tulamba*. Masson writes the name as *Tūlūmba*; but all the Muhammadan authors, from Sharf-ud-din downwards, spell the name *Tulamba*, just as it is pronounced at the present day.

The earliest notice of Tulamba that I am aware of is in Sharf-ud-din's History of Timur. The town capitulated on terms, which, as usual, were broken by Timur and his troops. "During the night the soldiers, under pretence of making a search (for grain), marched towards the town, which they sacked and pillaged, burning all the houses, and even making the inhabitants slaves.[1]" But the fort escaped, as its siege would have delayed Timur for some time, and he was impatient to push on to Delhi.

In A. D. 1430, just one generation later, the unfortunate town of Tulamba again capitulated to a Muhammadan invader, Amir Shekh Ali, Governor of Kabul, under Shah Rokh. Again the invader broke his pledge, and after plundering the town and killing all the males able to bear arms, he burned the place and carried off the women and children as slaves.[2]

In the accompanying plate,[3] I have selected a few specimens of the ornamented bricks which I found built into the walls of the modern town. They are all of the same size, namely, 14 by 9 by 3 inches.

Fig. 1 is a specimen of a diaper pattern, which most probably formed part of a string course.

Fig. 2 is a Vandyke pattern, which appears to have been carved after the brick was burned. It must have belonged to a plinth or basement, as it is of common use at the present day as the string course of all kinds of pediments.

Fig. 3 is part of a flowered string course, which was apparently carved after burning.

Figs. 4 and 6 are different specimens of flowered ornament, which probably belonged to cornices.

Fig. 5 is a simple pattern of string course, which may have been moulded before burning.

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[1] Sharf-ud-din, B. VI, C. II.
[2] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 526.
[3] See Plate XXXV.

Fig. 7 is a favourite pattern of string course in sunken squares, of which I found no less than nine specimens built into the walls of the present town.

Fig. 8 is a diaper pattern, which appears to have formed part of a cornice.

Fig. 9 is a similar diaper pattern, but carved on the broad face of the brick. It must therefore have formed part of the diaper facing of a wall.

Figs. 10 and 11 are moulded bricks from the ruins of Asarur, a large mound 60 miles to the west of Lahor. The first is a simple specimen of contiguous leaves, forming one of the projecting courses of a cornice. The latter is the only specimen that I have met with of distinctly formed dentils, similar to those of the stone buildings in the Western Panjâb and Trans-Indus districts. Asarur is one of the large ruined cities of the Panjâb, which I have identified[1] with *Tse-kai* or *Taki*, the capital of the country in the seventh century, when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang. In support of this identification, I can now adduce a statement from the Chach-nama that Jaisiya, the son of Dâhir, on his way from Chitor to Kashmir, passed through Tâkiya[2].

In the Lahor Museum there are four specimens of small corbels, or dentils, from the ruins of Akbar, near Gugera. On each of these there is a squatted figure with arms upraised to support a cornice or other projecting moulding. These four figures were certainly moulded before burning. Other figures from Akbar, and a single large specimen which I got at Harapâ, were certainly modelled in the wet clay, as they still retain the sharp upturned edges received from the last touches of the modelling tools. This is more especially noticeable in the teeth of the large head from Akbar, which have been protected from injury by the lips. But most of the ornamented bricks that I have seen were carved or chiselled after the bricks had been burned, a practice which is still in use at Multân. Stamping, which would have been the easiest as well as the quickest and most perfect method of executing small and intricate patterns, does not seem to have been practised.

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[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 200.
[2] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, I, p. 178.

For projecting ornaments the most common form is that of a large leaf, or of two or three smaller leaves on the same brick. String mouldings were also formed of a continuous row of leaves. Plain surfaces were ornamented with various diaper patterns. One of the most common specimens is a series of small squares, each alternate square being sunk with a slope.

Many of the specimens found at Bavanni and Shorkot were vitrified, and were therefore certainly moulded before burning. The Shorkot bricks with mason's marks must also have been inscribed in the moist state, as the edges of all the letters more or less turned up.

MULTAN.

The ancient fortress of Multân is situated four miles from the left bank of the Chenâb River, and 52 miles to the south-west of Tulamba. Originally it stood on an island in the Râvi, but several centuries ago this river changed its course from Sarai Siddhu, two miles to the westward of Tulamba, and continuing its westerly direction joined the Chenâb 32 miles above Multân. During the high floods the waters of the Râvi still flow down their old bed; and I have twice seen the ditches of Multân filled by the annual overflow of the river. The details of the campaign of Chach Raja of Sindh show that the Râvi still continued to flow under its walls in the middle of the seventh century. They show also that the Biâs River then flowed in an independent channel to the east and south of Multân. In approaching from Sindh Chach had to cross both the Sutlej and the Biâs rivers before he reached the bank of the Râvi at *Sikka,* at a short distance to the eastward of Multân. Sikka was deserted by its garrison, who joined Raja Bajhra in opposing Chach on the bank of the Râvi. After a sharp fight Raja Bajhra was driven back into Multân, which was only surrendered after a long siege. This took place about A. D. 650, in the early part of Chach's reign.

In the Chach Nâma the two names of Sikka and Multân are always joined together as Sikka-Multân. In one place Sikka is called "the fort of Sikka opposite Multân." In another place, it is called a large fort on the south bank of the Râvi."[1] From these statements I infer that the name of

[1] Chach Nâma, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot I, pp. 142—203.

Multân belonged to the strong fort on the north bank of the Râvi, and that Sikka was the present city of Multân on the south bank of the river, which then flowed between the two. A similar conjunction of the names of two places on opposite banks of the Ganges is that of Karra-Mânikpur. It is probable, therefore, that the Sikki Darwâza of the fort of Multân derived its name from its position opposite to the fort of Sikka.[1] At the time of Muhammad-bin-Kasim's invasion Sikka was occupied by Bajhra Tâki, who afterwards "passed over the Ravi and went into Multân." The place was then pillaged by the Arabs, and Muhammad-bin-Kasim "crossed over towards Multân at the ferry below the city." The Ravi, therefore, was not fordable between Multân and Sikka so late as the beginning of the eighth century.

In later times, the distinction between Sikka and Multân was lost sight of, and Multân alone is mentioned by Biladûri and Masudi and other Muhammadan authors.

The earliest mention of Multân by name is that of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang, who visited *Meu-lo-san pu-lo* or *Mulasthánipura* in A. D. 641. The people themselves refer the name to *Mula-tana*, quoted by Abu Rihan from a Kashmirian writer. The city was then 30 *li*, or just five miles in circuit, and the province was a dependency of *Táki*.[2] The worship of Buddha had almost disappeared, and the monasteries were in ruins. But there were eight temples of the Brahmanical gods, and the temple of the sun-god, *Aditya*, was very magnificent. The statue of the sun-god was made of pure gold, and adorned with precious and rare things. This worship, he adds, had lasted from time immemorial.

The next notices refer to the capture of Multân by Muhammad-bin-Kasim in A.D. 714. Biladûri, who wrote about A. D. 875, states that "the *Bud* (idol) of Multân received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sindh resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job.[3]" This reading of the name of the idol must have been obtained by the change of *Adit* to *Ayub*, which in Persian characters would be very

[1] See the accompanying map of Multân, Plate XXXVI.
[2] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, III, 173.
[3] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, I, 123.

slight. The two contemporaries, Abu-Zaid and Masudi, who wrote about A. D. 920, both say that the idol was known by the name of Multân.[1] According to Masudi, the meaning of Multân was "boundary of the house of gold," a mistake which is repeated by subsequent writers.

Istakhri, who wrote about A. D. 950, describes the idol of Multân as being "held in great veneration by the Hindus. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multân, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol, and those devoted to its service, dwell around the cupola. In Multân there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols, except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood; some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multân.[2]"

Ibn Haukal was a contemporary of Istakhri, and actually met him in the valley of the Indus, but the account of his travels was written some years later, or about A. D. 976. He states that Multân means "boundary of the house of gold," and that it derived its name from the idol. He adds afterwards that "the reason why Multân is thus designated is, that the Muhammadans, though poor at the time, conquered the place, and enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it." He describes both the idol and temple almost in the same terms as Istakhri; but as there are some

[1] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, I, pp. 11, 23.
[2] Ibid., I, p. 27.

slight differences as well as additions, it is better to give his account entire.[1]

"The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multân, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the centre of the building, and the ministers of the idol, and those devoted to its service, dwell around the cupola. In Multân there are no men either of Hind or of Sind who worship idols, except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this. The body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide this point. The eyes of the image are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers all closed, so that only four can be counted. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amir of Multân, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants retire, otherwise they would destroy Multân."

Shortly after the visit of Ibn Haukal, Multân was captured by the Karmatian Chief, Jelem, the son of Shaibân, when the priests of the temple were massacred, the statue of the sun-god was broken to pieces, and the temple itself was converted into a mosque.[2] As the Karmatians were Shiahs, their success excited the wrath of the great Sunni champion, Mahmud of Ghazni, and Multân was re-captured in A. D. 1005. Mahmud restored the old masjid of Muhammad-bin-Kasim, which had been neglected by the Karmatians, and gave up their mosque to vulgar uses.[3] But these sectarians again entered Multân, and were not finally ejected until A. D. 1175 by Muiz-ud-din-bin-Sâm.[4]

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[1] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, I., pp. 35-36.
[2] Reinaud—Mémoire Sur l' Inde, p. 249.
[3] Ibid, p. 255.
[4] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, II, 293.

When Abu Rihân visited Multân, neither temple nor statue was in existence,[1] but both were soon restored by the religious zeal of the Hindus; and when Idrisi wrote his geography, about A. D. 1130, the worship of the sun-god of Multân was as flourishing as ever. His description of the temple and idol is very minute and interesting, although some parts of it seem to have been borrowed from the accounts of his predecessors.

"There is an idol here which is highly venerated by the Indians, who come on pilgrimages to visit it from the most distant parts of the country, and make offerings of valuables, ornaments, and immense quantities of perfumes. This idol is surrounded by its servants and slaves, who feed and dress upon the produce of these rich offerings. It is in the human form, with four sides, and is sitting upon a seat made of bricks and plaster. It is entirely covered with a skin like red morocco, so that the eyes are only visible. Some maintain that the interior is made of wood, but others deny this; however it may be, the body is entirely covered. The eyes are formed of precious stones, and upon its head there is golden crown set up with jewels. It is, as we have said, square, and its arms below the elbows seem to be four *in number. The temple of this idol is situated in the middle* of Multân, *in* the most *frequented* bazar. It is a dome-shaped building; the upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty, and the walls coloured. Around the dome are the dwellings of the attendants of the idol, and of those who live upon the produce of that worship of which it is the object. There is no idol in India or Sindh which is more highly venerated. The people make it the object of a pious pilgrimage, and to obey it is a law. So far is this carried that when the neighbouring princes make war against the country of Multân, either for the purpose of plunder or for carrying off the idol, the priests have only to meet and threaten the aggressors with its anger and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design. Without this fear the town of Multân would be destroyed. It is not surprising, then, that the inhabitants adore the idol, exalt its power, and maintain that its presence secures divine protection. Being ignorant of

[1] Reinaud—Mémoire Sur l'Inde, p. 249.

the name of the man who set it up, they content themselves with saying that it is a wonder.[1]"

Apparently the Râvi still continued to flow past Multân, as Idrisi states that "the environs of this city are watered by a *little river*, which falls into the Mihran of Sindh." But from his description of it as a little river, it seems probable that the change in the course of the main stream of the Râvi had already taken place, and that only a small branch of it then reached Multân.

The account of Kazwini, which was written about A. D. 1263, is of little value, as it is copied from Istakhri and other previous writers. He notes, however, that the great mosque was *near* the temple, that is, in the very middle of the fort.

The only other description of Multân that I am aware of, is the brief account of the French traveller Thevenot, who visited the place after A. D. 1666, in the early part of the reign of Aurangzib, before he had begun his bigoted persecution of the Hindu religion.

The temple of the sun-god was still standing, and the idol is described as being clothed in red leather, and having a black face, with two pearls for eyes.[2]

The destruction of the temple and statue of the sun is universally attributed to Aurangzib, and I see no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition. In 1818, when the Sikhs took possession of Multân, there was not a trace left of the old temple, and in revenge they turned the tomb of Shams-i-Tabrez into a hall for the reading of the *Granth*. In 1853, when I first went to Multân, the very site of the temple was unknown. Its true position, however, would appear to be indicated by the names of the *Dê* gate, and the *Dê* drain, of which the former must have led up to the *Dewal*, or temple, and the latter from it. Now the road from the *Dê* gate inwards led straight up to the Jâmi masjid, which the *Dê* drain led directly from it. The Jâmi masjid was turned into a powder magazine by the Sikhs, and was accidently blown up in December 1848. But I saw its ruins in 1853 on the high ground in the very middle of the fort, which agrees exactly with the position of the temple of the Sun, as stated by Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, and Idrisi.[3]

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[1] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot. I, p. 82.
[2] Thevenot's Travels, English translation, folio, Part III, pp. 55-56.
[3] See Plate XLI, in which the position of the Jâmi Masjid is shown.

Abu Rihân relates that the temple and statue of the Sun, which existed just before his time, were said by the people to be 216,432 years old.[1] But this monstrous antiquity must have been a comparatively rare invention, as only three centuries previously Muhammad-bin-Kasim was thus addressed by a Brahman:[2] "I have heard from the elders of Multân that in ancient times there was a chief in this city, whose name was *Jibawin*, and who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir. He was a Brahman and a monk; he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multân, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber, in which he concealed forty copper jars, each of which was filled with African gold-dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty mans of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir. It is related by historians, on the authority of Ali-bin-Muhammad, who had heard it from Abu Muhammad Hindui, that Muhammad Kasim arose and with his counsellors, guards, and attendants, went to the temple. He saw there an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies. Muhammad Kasim thought it might perhaps be a man, so he drew his sword to strike it; but the Brahman said: 'O just commander, this is the image which was made by Jibawin, King of Multan, who concealed the treasure here and departed.' Muhammad Kasim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty mans of gold were obtained, and forty jars filled with gold-dust. They were weighed, and the sum of thirteen thousand and two mans weight of gold was taken out. This gold and the image were brought to the treasury, together with the gems and pearls and treasure which were obtained from the plunder of the city of Multân."

The name of *Jibawin*, as is always the case in Persian manuscripts, has several various readings, as *Jaswin*, *Jasur*, *Jalbur*; besides the numerous changes that may be made with unpointed letters. The true reading of the name is therefore

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[1] Reinaud—Mémoire Sur l' Inde, p. 97.
[2] Chach Nâma in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, I, p. 205.

doubtful. It is certain, however, that if Jibawin was a Brahman, he could not have been a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir, as none of the Rajas of Kashmir were Brahmans. I have a suspicion, however, that the name of *Jibawin* may perhaps be only an altered form of *Diwahij*, who was the founder of the dynasty of kings which ruled over Multân and Sindh for 137 years prior to the usurpation of the Brahman Chach. My suspicion is not founded solely upon the similarity of name, but on the fact derived from coins that the dynasty of *Diwahij* was conspicuous for its devotion to sun worship. In the accompanying plate[1] I have given sketches of three different silver coins, all of which I believe to refer to the worship of the Sun-god of Multân.

The first of these coins is the well-known trilingual silver piece, of which two specimens were found in the great Mânikyâla Tope. On the obverse is the bust of the king half turned to the right, covered with a head dress ornamented with two trisuls, and surmounted by a tiger's head. Immediately before the face are three Scythic letters, which are at present quite unknown. Around the margin there is a long legend in Nagari characters, which has not yet been satisfactorily read, owing to the imperfect delineation of the letters by a person not familiar with the character. James Prinsep read this legend as follows:—[2]

Sri Hitivira Airâna cha Parameswara
Sri Vâhitigân Devajanita.

Mr. Thomas has also given a tentative reading of this legend, which generally agrees with Prinsep's, but with the improvement of *Shâhi* for *Vâhi*. His various readings of some of the letters are suggested by the variations in their forms as exhibited on different coins. I have seen a large number of these coins, and, after a careful comparison of all the variant legends, I have adopted the following reading as the most satisfactory:—

Sri Hitivi cha Airân cha Parameswara
Sri Shâhitigin Devajarita.

The conjunction *cha* preceding *Airân* is distinct on one of my coins, and of exactly the same form as the following

[1] See Plate XXXVII.
[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal.

cha. *Hitivi*—I take to be *Hind* or *India*. The first half of the legend will therefore be simply

"The fortunate lord of India and Persia."

In the latter half I take *Shâhi* to be certain, although it is also written *Chahi* and *Jahi*. On one of my coins, also, the letter *gi* in *tigin* is quite unmistakeable. I therefore read *Shâhitigin*, or the "valiant king," the word being a compound like *Alptigin*, *Subuktigin*, *Sipastigin*, &c. The real name I take to be *Devajarit*, which may possibly be identical with Diwahij. James Prinsep read *Devajanita*, and Mr. Thomas reads *Devandrita*; but my coins certainly do not agree with either of these readings. I must admit, however, that Prinsep's reading gives a meaning to the word, as "son of heaven," which is equivalent to the Devaputra of the Scythian Kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva. This would therefore be the title, and the name of the king would be *Shâhitigin*.

On the reverse is a bust of a god, which Prinsep refers to the *Mithra* of the Persians, but which I believe to be the Multân Sun-god called *Aditya*. The head is surrounded by rays arranged after the Indian fashion, and quite different from the head dress of the Persian *Mithra*. The legend is in Pehlvi, that to the left being read by Mr. Thomas[1] as *Saf, Tansaf, Tef*, and that to the right as * * *Khorasân Malkâ*, the first words being doubtful. If, as I believe, the name of the king is *Diwahij* or *Devajarit*, its representative in the Pehlvi legend will be *Tef* or *Tefi*, as there are two strokes beyond the *f*. *Saf* or *Sif*, as we know from another coin, represents *Sri*, and thus we have *Tansaf* left as the equivalent of *Shâhitigin*.

As it cannot well be a transcript, it can only be a translation, and must therefore be a title; and, consequently, I take *Tef*, which is clearly a transcript, to be the real name. His date, if my identification with *Diwahij* be correct, will be about A. D. 500, or 137 years before the accession of the Brahman Chach to the throne of Sindh and Multân.

The second coin belongs to Khusru Parvez of Persia; but it is connected with the foregoing by the bust of the Sun-god on the reverse. The coin is in the imperial cabinet of Vienna, and was published by Adrien de Longperier in 1840;[2]

[1] Prinsep's Essays, II, p. 111.

[2] Essai sur les Medailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide—Plate XI, Fig. 3, p. 78.

but the legends were first read by Mr. Thomas.[1] On the obverse is the bust of the king to the front, with the usual winged head-dress, and to the right the Pehlvi legend *Husrui Malkân Malkâ.* On the reverse is the bust of the Indian Sun-god, with the rayed head-dress; and to the left, in Pehlvi, the words *haft-sih,* or the year "37" of his reign, which is equivalent to A. D. 626 or 627, according as we reckon his accession either from 590 or 591 A. D.

The appearance of the Sun-god of Multân on a coin of Khusru Parvez is of special value, as it enables us to fix with some probability the date of an important event recorded in the Chach Nâma. This event is the invasion of Sindh by an army from Fars, under the king of Nemrûz or *Sistân,* and the defeat and death of Rai Siharas, the father of Rai *Sâhasi Shahi,* who was the immediate predecessor of the Brahman Chach. I suppose that this coin may have been struck by Khusru Parvez in honor of this temporary conquest of the Indian kingdom.

The third coin is similar in appearance to the last. On the obverse is the bust of a king with a winged head-dress like that of Khusru Parvez. The legends are in Pehlvi, which have been read by Mr. Thomas as follows:[2] to the left of the head *Siv Varsu Tef;* and round the margin *Pûn Shami dât Siv Varsao Tef, Wahmân Ach Multân Malka,* "*in nomine justi judicis Siv Varsao Tef, Brahmân,* king of Multân." On the reverse there is the same rayed head of the Sun-god which appears on the two coins previously described. To the right of the head in Nagari *Sri Vasu Deva,* and to the left *panchai Zâwulistân.* On my specimen, which, like General Abbott's, has the Nagari legend reversed, there is a slight difference in the arrangement of the Pehlvi letters preceding the name of Multân, but, like the Nagari, it may be blundered. One thing, however, is certain, that the coin belongs to *Vâsu Deva,* King of Multân, who must have been nearly contemporary with Khusru Parvez. This chief I am inclined to identify with *Bajhra,* who was the ruler of Multân at the time of Chach's usurpation. He was a relative of *Sahasi;* and "he had large dominions and great abilities."[3] *Sahiwal,* his nephew, governed the fort of *Sikka,*

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[1] Prinsep's Essays, II. 114.
[2] Prinsep's Essays, Vol. II, pp. 112-113.
[3] Chach Nâma in Dowson's Edition of Sir H Elliot, I, 142.

opposite Multân, and with *Ajin*, his cousin, opposed Chach's advance, on the banks of the Biâs River, for three months.

On this last coin we see the bust of the Sun-god directly associated with Multân; and as two of the three varieties of coins which bear this special type have Nagari legends, I think that there is a strong reason for identifying the rayed bust on these coins with the famous Sun-god Aditya of Multân.

I have already given a general description of Multân in another work;[1] but, as I have lately visited the place again, I am now able to add something to my former brief account. Multân now consists of a walled city and a dismantled fortress, situated on opposite banks of an old bed of the Râvi, which once flowed between them, as well as around them. The sites were originally two islands, which would appear to have been about 8 or 10 feet above the general level of the plain on all sides. The present height varies from 45 to 50 feet, the difference of 35 to 40 feet being simply the accumulation of rubbish during the lapse of many centuries. This fact I ascertained personally by sinking several wells from the high ground of the fort down to the level of the natural soil, that is, of earth unmixed with bricks, ashes, and other evidences of man's occupation In shape the fort may be described as the half of an irregular octagon, with its diameter or long straight side of 2,500 feet facing the north-west, and its four unequal sides, 4,100 feet in length on the east, south, and west, towards the city. The whole circuit of the fort was therefore 6,600 feet, or just one mile and a quarter. It had forty-six towers or bastions, including the two flanking towers at each of the four gates. The walled city, which envelopes three faces of the fort on the south, is 4,200 feet in length, and 2,400 feet in breadth, with the long straight side facing the south-west. Altogether the walled circuit of Multân, including both city and citadel, is 15,000 feet, or very nearly three miles; and the whole circuit of the place, including the unwalled suburbs, is from four and half to five miles. This last measurement agrees exactly with the estimate of Hwen-Thsang, who makes the circuit of Multân 30 *li*, or just five miles.[2] It agrees also with the estimate of Elphinstone, who, with his usual accuracy,

[1] Ancient Geography of India, I, 230.
[2] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, III, 173.

describes Multân as "above four miles and a half in circumference.[1] The fortress had no ditch when it was seen by Elphinstone and Burnes; but a broad deep ditch, which could be readily filled by the waters of the Râvi canals, was shortly afterwards added by Sâwan Mall, the energetic Governor of Multân, under Ranjit Singh. The walls are said to have been built by Murâd Baksh, the youngest son of Shah Jahan, who was Governor of Multân for a few years towards the close of his reign. But the work of Murâd Baksh must have been confined to repairs, including a complete facing of the greater part; for when I dismantled the defences of Multân in 1854, I found that the brick walls were generally double, the outer wall being about 4 feet thick, and the inner wall from 3½ to 4 feet. The whole was built of burnt bricks and mud-mortar, excepting the outer courses, which were laid in lime-mortar to a depth of 9 inches.

In the beginning of the twelfth century Idrisi describes Multân as "a large city commanded by a citadel, which has four gates, and is surrounded by a moat."[2] The citadel still has its four gates, which are doubtless the same as in ancient times.[3] That to the north is called the *Khidri* gate, perhaps after Sayid Khizr, or *Khidr* Khân, who was the Governor of Multân for many years after the invasion of Timur; that to the west is called the *Dé* gate, a name which I believe to have been derived from its being the principal approach to the temple or *Dewal;* that to the south was called the *Rehri* gate, of which no one knows the meaning; and that to the east was called the *Sikki* gate, because, as I believe, it formerly led to the fortified town of *Sikka*, which was on the opposite bank of the Râvi.

The walled city of Multân also had its gates, of which the *Bor* gate led to the west, and the *Delhi* gate to the south. There were three gates leading towards the citadel, of which the only name now preserved is that of the Daolat gate.

The only Hindu remains at Multân are several gigantic stone rings, called *Mankas*, such as I have already described at Harapâ, and some fragments of statues in a temple near

[1] Elphinstone's Kabul, I, 27.
[2] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, I, 82
[3] See Plate XXXVI.

the *Haran* or *Haram* Darwâza, which are said to have been made by *Ader*, the father of Abraham. I resided in the fort of Multân for more than a year, and after the strictest search, the only relic that I could find was a single bit of ornamented stone, a few inches long, built into the northern wall. So complete has been the clearance of idolatry during the Muhammadan rule of upwards of twelve centuries. This complete eradication of every trace of Hindu occupation is no doubt partly due to the fact that all the buildings of Multân were made of brick. Even the great temple of the Sun-god is said by Abu Rihân to have been built of bricks.[1] Now the ornamental mouldings of the ruined stone temples of the Hindus can still be distinguished in all the early Muhammadan buildings of Delhi, Kanoj, and Jonpur; but the ruined walls of the brick temples of Multân and other places in the plains of the Panjab have preserved no traces of their first use, but were resolved at once into their original elements of plain bricks.

The only places which the Hindus point to as preserving any traces of their sovereignty are the temple of Pahlâdpuri in the fort, and the tank called *Suraj Kund*, five miles to the south of Multân, on the road to Bahâwalpur. This tank is said to be a place of pilgrimage. It was a mere circular pool of water, until it was surrounded by an octagonal wall by Diwân Sâwan Mall. It is 132 feet in diameter, and 10 feet deep when full. Two *melas* are held on the site annually; the first on the 7th of the waxing moon of Bhâdon, and the other on the 7th of the waxing moon of Mâgh. These numbers would appear to have reference to the seven horses of the sun's chariot according to the Hindu mythology.

In this utter absence of Hindu remains, I sank several wells in the fort, in the hope of finding something that might be more ancient than the Muhammadan conquest. Only one of these well yielded any objects of interest. This one was sunk just outside the wall of the roofless temple of Pahlâdpuri; the earth was all sifted carefully, and nothing larger than a pea could have escaped notice. The well was carried down to 40 feet in depth, and the work was then stopped, as the last 4 feet consisted of undisturbed earth, without any mixture of bricks, pottery, or ashes, or other

[1] Reinaud—Mémoire Sur l' Inde, p. 249.

evidences of man's occupation. I give the results in a tabular form, with the view of making my remarks upon them more readily intelligible :—

ARCHÆOLOGICAL WELL.

Sunk in the Fort of Multán in 1864.

Depth, feet.	Probable date.	Discoveries.
1–2	1700	Upper stratum : English broken bottles ; pieces of iron shells ; leaden bullets.
3	1600	
4–5	1500	Glazed pottery and glazed tiles.
6	1400	Small bricks, $6 \times 4 \times 1$.
7–8	1300	
9	1200	
10–11	1100	Coin of Muiz-ud-din, Kaikobad, A. D. 1286—89 : glazed blue chiragh, or oil-lamp.
12	1000	Coin of Sri Samanta Deva—Circa, A. D. 900—950.
13–14	900	Bricks, $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$: glazed tiles and pottery ceased.
15	800	Red ashes, 2 feet deep. (15–17) — Bricks, $11 \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 2$. (15–18)
16–17	700	
18	600	Black ashes, 6 to 9 inches.
19–20	500	
21	400	Fragments of large bricks, $14 \times 11 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.
22–23	300	
24	200	
25–26	[illegible]	
27	B. C.	
28–29	100	
30	200	2 feet of ashes and burnt earth. (30–32) — Silk spinner's ball. Shoe-maker's sharpening stone. Copper vessel with about 200 coins.
31–32	300	
33	400	
34–35	500	
36	600	Natural soil unmixed. (36–39)
37–38	700	
39	800	
40		

One of my objects in sinking these wells was to obtain some trustworthy data for fixing the approximate rate of accumulation of débris. The two coins discovered respectively, at depths of 10 and 12 feet, appear to furnish exactly what was wanted. The upper one gives a period of 600 years for 10 feet of accumulation, and the lower one a period of 900 years for 12 feet. The two together give 22 feet of accumulation in 1,500 years, or as nearly as possible 1½ foot per century. Taking this amount as a fair rate, I have filled up the second column for the sake of obtaining approximate dates for the other discoveries.

In the upper 10 feet the fragments of glazed tiles and glazed pottery were very numerous. At 12 feet a glazed blue oil-lamp was found, below which no more coloured fragments were discovered. This fact corresponds with the deductions made from existing buildings, that the use of glazed tiles was brought into India by the Muhammadans. Glazed vessels were probably in use at an earlier date; but they would seem to have been confined chiefly to oil-lamps, and to the one colour of azure blue.

It will be observed that the bricks increase in size with the depth. This also is known to be the fact from existing buildings, as the bricks of all the Mughal buildings are very small and thin, not more than 5 or 6 inches in length and 1 inch thick; while those of the Pathân buildings are nearly double the size, and those of undoubted Buddhist buildings of an early date are still larger.

But the two chief discoveries made in this archæological well were the great masses of ashes and burnt materials at two different depths. The upper one was nearly 3 feet in thickness, extending from 15 feet down to nearly 18 feet. Two feet of this deposit consisted of red ashes overlying a thinner layer of black ashes from 6 to 9 inches thick. This was not a small deposit limited to the area of the well, at it was found to extend on every side as far as could be traced with safety. Now, it is curious that the position of this deposit corresponds with the period of Muhammad Kasim's conquest of Multân in A. D. 712, when the garrison was massacred.[1]

The only other discovery of consequence was a similar deposit of 2 feet of ashes and burnt earth at a depth of from 30 to 32 feet, which corresponds very nearly with the

[1] Chach Nâma and Biladûri in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, I. pp 123 to 205

period of Alexander's capture of the capital city of the Malli. This, as I have elsewhere shown, was almost certainly Multân, and as the Macedonian soldiers were enraged by Alexander's dangerous wound, they massacred the whole garrison.[1] It seems probable that this deep layer of ashes may be the remains of some conflagration that attended this wholesale massacre, which is said to have included even the women and children.

Just below the level of the burnt earth, a further discovery was made of a silk spinner's ball of clay, a shoe-maker's sharpening stone, which was recognized by the peculiar marks upon it, and a copper vessel filled with about 200 coins. These appeared to have been square in shape, but they were otherwise quite unrecognizable, being almost entirely corroded.

The Hindu temple of Pahlâdpuri was unroofed by the explosion of the powder magazine in December 1848, and it was quite deserted during my residence at Multân. It was a square brick building with some very finely carved wooden pillars for the support of the roof. During my late visit I found that the building had been re-roofed, and that a new image of the Narsinh Avatâr had been set up for worship. This incarnation of Vishnu is generally believed to have taken place at Multân during the reign of the Daitya chief *Hiranya Kasipu*, who was a disbeliever in the divinity of Vishnu, while his son *Prahlâd* was a devout worshipper of that god. The original temple is said to have been built by this prince, after whom it received its name of Prahlâdpuri, or in the spoken form Pahlâdpuri. An annual *mela* used to be held around the temple on the traditional anniversary of Narsinh's appearance. In 1854 this took place on the 12th May. Some troops were in attendance, as the mirth was accustomed to get rather furious from a general and rather promiscuous throwing of cucumbers.

Multân is said to have been founded by *Kâsyapa*, the father of *Hiranya Kasipu*, after whom it was named *Kâsyapapura*. This is the oldest name of the place which is preserved by Abu Rihân under its Sanskrit form. But the spoken form is *Kasappur*; and this I believe to be the *Kaspapuros* of Hekatæus, and the *Kaspaturos* of Herodotus. I think also that it must be the *Kaspeira* of Ptolemy, which he places

[1] Diodorus—XVIII, 10—Curtius—IX, 5, 17—Arrian, VI.

at a bend on the lower course of the *Rhuadis* or *Râvi*, just above its junction with the *Sandobág* or *Chandrabhága*. The position of *Kaspeira*, therefore, agrees very exactly with that of *Kasyapapura* or Multân, which is situated on the bank of the old bed of the Râvi, just at the point where the channel changes it course from south-west to west, and only a few miles above its old junction with the Chenâb. Abu Rihân mentions other names of Multân, as *Hansapura*, *Bhágapura*, and *Sámbapura*, but they appear to be only book names, as *Hansa* and *Bhága* are synonimes of the sun.

The Muhammadan remains at Multân consist of several of the long brick tombs assigned to *Nao-gajas*, the two large tombs in the fort of the famous Saints Bahâwal Hak and his grandson Rukn-ud-din, and a large tomb to the east of the fort of another saint named Shams-i-Tabrez.

Nao-gaja means literally "nine-yarder", and the term is applied throughout the North-West Provinces and the Panjâb to all the existing tombs of Muhammadans who fell in action against the Hindus. Every one of them is described as a *Ghâzi* and *Shâhid*, or a "warrior and martyr" for the faith, and all are supposed to have been of gigantic size. I have now seen about one hundred of these tombs varying in length from 10 to upwards of 50 feet. There are two of these long tombs at *Ajudhya*, which are ascribed to the Paigambars *Ayub* and *Sis*, that is, to the Prophets Seth and Job, and there is one in Lamghân beyond the Indus, which is ascribed to Lamek Paigambar, or the Prophet Lamech. These are the extreme limits of their occurrence to the east and west, as far as I have observed.

I have already described two of these tombs at Harapâ and Bavanni ; but at Multân there were no less than twelve of them, all situated close to some of the gates either of the fort or of the city. All the fort ones had been buried under the dismantled parapets before my arrival at Multân in 1853, and I can only give their names—

1. Near the Sikki gate, tomb of Lâl Husen Bairâgi, a converted Hindu.
2. Near the De gate, tomb of Miran King Samar, 4 gaj in length.
3. Near the Kebri gate, tomb of Sabz Ghazi, 3½ gaj in length.
4. Near the De gate, outside, tomb of unknown Ghâzi.
5. Near the Jâmi Masjid, tomb of Kazi Kutb Kushâni. There was no trace of this in 1854.

The *Nao-gaja* tombs about the city are still in existence. Their names are—

6. Near the Bor gate and inside the city, tomb of Pir Adham.

7. Near the Bor gate and outside the city, tomb of Pir Dindâr, 54⅚ feet long.

8. Above Husen Gai, in the Nandh Mohalla, tomb of Pir Ramzân Ghazi, 21 feet 3 inches long.

9. Outside the Delhi gate, 450 feet distant, tomb of Pir Gor Sultân. This tomb is 35½ feet in length. Beside it there is a large circular stone, 27 inches in diameter and 18 inches thick, with a hole through the middle, 9 inches in diameter. The stone is of a chocolate colour, with many marks of a light yellow. It is called *Manka*. Some say that the Saint wore it round his neck; but the general belief is that it was his thumb ring. This tomb is said to be 1,300 years old. It is possible, therefore, that it may belong to the time of the first invasion under Muhammad Kasim.

10 & 11. Near Sâgar, two tombs, each 3½ *gaj* in length. Names not known.

12 & 13. At Shâdana Shâhîd, tombs of the Shâdana himself, and of some unknown martyr, each 3½ *gaj* in length.

14. In Sajjika Mahalla, unknown tomb.

15. In Mangár-ka-Mahalla, unknown tomb.

It is a curious fact that Hindus as well as Musalmâns pay their devotions at these tombs, and place lights before them on Fridays.

The tomb of Bahâwal Hak was almost a complete ruin after the siege in 1848. It was afterwards repaired, and carefully plastered over. It is now quite safe, but so very little is left of the original building that it would be difficult to say to what period it belonged did we not know the name and history of the Saint who is buried inside. Shekh Bahâ-ud-din Zakhariya, commonly called Bahâ-ul-Hak or Bahâwal Hak, was for about 50 years the great Saint of Multân. He was visited by Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiâr Kâki, during the time of Nasir-ud-din Kubâchah, who was drowned in A. D. 1225, and he was still living at the accession of Balban in A. D. 1264,[1] during whose reign he died. His

[1] Niâmat Ullah, History of the Afghans, translated by Dorn, II, 3, and Briggs's Ferishta, I, 271.

tomb, therefore, belongs to the age of Balban, from A. D. 1264 to 1286, a period of which we possess only one other specimen of architecture at Sonipat. The lower part of the tomb is a square of 51 feet 9 inches outside. This is surmounted by an octagon, about one-half of the height of the square, above which is a hemispherical dome. The greater part of the building is a mass of white plaster; but on the eastern side there are still existing some fairly preserved specimens of diaper ornament in glazed tiles, from which I conclude that the general state of the building was something like that of the tomb of his grandson, which is said to have been built by Tughlak for himself while he was Governor of Multân, that is, before A. D. 1321, when he took possession of the throne of Delhi. The son of the Saint, named Sadr-ud-din, is also buried in this tomb.

But the glory of Multân is the great tomb of Rukn-ud-din, the grandson of Bahâwal Hak, which is commonly known as the Rokn-i-Alam.[1] This fine building is an octagon of 51 feet 9 inches diameter inside, with perpendicular walls 41 feet 4 inches high and 13 feet 3 inches thick, supported by sloping towers at the angles. This is surmounted by a smaller octagon of 25 feet 8 inches exterior side, and 26 feet 10 inches in height, which leaves a narrow passage all round the top of the lower storey for the Muazzin to call the faithful to prayers from all sides. Above this is a hemispherical dome of 58 exterior diameter. The total height of the tomb, including a plinth of 3 feet, is just 2 inches over 100 feet. But as the building stands on the high ground on the north-western edge of the fort, its total height above the country is 150 feet. This great height makes it one of the most striking objects on approaching Multân, as it can be seen for a distance of 12 or 15 miles all round.

The Rokn-i-Alam is built entirely of red brick, bonded with beams of sisu wood, which are now much decayed.[2] The whole of the exterior is elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels and string courses and battlements. The only colours used are dark blue, azure, and white; but these

[1] See Plate XXXVIII.

[2] One of these towers was thrown down by the explosion of the powder magazine in December 1848. It was afterwards rebuilt in faithful imitation of the old one, including all the timber bonds.

are contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks, and the result is both effective and pleasing. These mosaics are not like those of later days, mere plain surfaces, but the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the back-ground. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome, but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern. In the accompanying plate I have given a few specimens of these curious and elaborate panels.[1]

The interior of the Rokn-i-Alam was originally plastered and painted with various ornaments, of which only a few traces now remain. The sarcophagus of Rukn-ud-din is a large plain mass of brick-work covered with mud plaster. About one hundred of his descendants lie around him under similar masses of brick and mud, so that the whole of the interior is now filled with rows of these unsightly mounds.

There are several curious stories about this tomb, some of which would appear to have originated in the fact that it was first built by Tughlak for himself, and was afterwards given up by his son Muhammad Tughlak for the last resting place of Rukn-ud-din. Tughlak first began to build close to the tomb of Bahâwal Hak, when a voice was heard from the tomb of the Saint saying, "you are treading on my body." Another site was then chosen at a short distance, when again the Saint's voice was heard, saying, "you are treading on my knees." A third site still farther off was next taken, when a third time the voice was heard, saying, "you are treading on my feet." Tughlak then selected the present site at the very opposite end of the fort; and as the voice was not heard again, the tomb was finished. Some say that the voice was heard only once, exclaiming, "you are treading on my feet."

Another story is, that Rukn-ud-din, who was originally buried in the tomb of his grandfather Bahâwal Hak, removed himself to his present tomb after his burial.[2] It would appear from the account of Ibn Batuta that the mysterious death of Tughlak was really planned by his son Muhammad, and carried out by Malik Zâda, then inspector of buildings, who afterwards became the chief *Wazir* of Muhammad,

[1] See Plate XXXIX.
[2] This story was also heard by Burnes, III, 117

with the title of Khwâja-i-Jahân. The Multân Saint was present at the catastrophe, and Ibn Batuta's account was obtained direct from him. His words are: "Shekh Rukn-ud-din told me that he was then near the Sultân, and that the Sultân's favourite son Mahmud was with them. Thereupon Muhammad came and said to the Shekh—'Master, it is now time for afternoon prayer, go down and pray.' I went down, said the Shekh, and they brought the elephants up on one side, *as the Prince and his confidant had arranged;* when the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultân and his son Mahmud. I heard the noise, continued the Shekh, and I returned without having said my prayers. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultân's son Muhammad ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, *but he made signs for them not to hurry,* and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultân, who had bent over his son to save him from death.[1]"

Here we see the anxiety of Muhammad for the safety of Rukn-ud-din, as testified by the Saint himself, and at the same time we learn from this trustworthy eye-witness that Muhammad made signs to the people not to hurry in bringing tools to extricate his father. His anxiety for the safety of the Saint betrays his guilty intentions towards his father; and I think that the people of Multân are right in their belief that the great tomb at Multân was given by Muhammad to Rukn-ud-din as a bribe to keep him quiet regarding the death of Tughlak Shah.

The tomb of Shams-i-Tabrez is situated about one quarter of a mile to the east of the fort on the high bank of the old bed of the Râvi. The main body of the tomb is a square of 34 feet side, and 30 feet in height, surrounded by a verandah with seven openings on each side. Above this it takes an octagonal shape, and is surmounted by a hemispherical dome covered with glazed sky-blue tiles. The whole height is 62 feet. I could not learn the date of Shams-i-Tabrez himself, as the people of Multân are profoundly ignorant of everything except certain silly miraculous stories of their Saints. But the building itself cannot be earlier than the time of the Mughals, and the people themselves say it is not quite

[1] Ibn Batuta in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 610.

200 years old. Portions of the walls are ornamented with patterns in glazed tiles; but the colours are chiefly blue and white, with a perfectly even surface, which betrays a late age. There are, however, many fragments of glazed tile work of an earlier age let into the gateway and walls of the surrounding court-yard, which, according to the people, belonged to the old original tomb of the Saint, which is referred to the time of "Tugal Padshah" (Tughlak) by some, and to a much earlier date by others.

There are several legends about Shams-i-Tabrez, but they all agree in attributing the great heat of Multàn to the direct influence of the Saint in causing the sun to approach nearer to Multân than to other parts of the earth. One of the stories is related by Burnes, who calls him "Shams-i-Tabrezi, a Saint from Bagdad, who is believed to have performed many miracles, and even raised the dead. This worthy, as the story is told, was flayed alive for his pretensions. He had long begged his bread in the city, and in his hunger caught a fish, which he held up to the sun, and brought that luminary near enough to roast it. This established his memory and equivocal fame on a firmer basis. The natives to this day attribute the heat of Multân which is proverbial to this incident.[1]" According to another version, the Saint had begged for food through the city in vain, and when he was dying from hunger he prayed to the sun in his anger, "O sun, your name is *Shams*, and my name is *Shams*, come down and punish the people of Multân for their inhumanity." The sun at once drew nearer, and the heat of Multân has ever since been greater than that of any other place. Another version attributes the prayer of the Saint to the persecutions and taunts of the people, who used to disturb and worry him when he was at his devotions.

In all the versions of this legend, there is the same attempt to account for the well known heat of Multân by a miracle which was no doubt suggested by the name of *Shams*. But the real cause is simply the want of rain, as the average yearly fall is only 7 inches. The dustiness of Multân is due to the same cause, and so also is the amazing number of the small mud tombs which would

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[1] Travels into Bokhara, III, 116.

gradually melt away, if the rainfall was like that of other places. The number of beggars is another of the nuisances of this rainless place, all of which have been tersely included in the following Persian couplet:—

Chahâr chiz hast tuhfajât-i-Multân,
Gard, guda, garma, wa goristân,

which may be literally translated—

"With four rare things Multân abounds,
Heat, beggars, dust, and burial grounds."

During my residence at Multân I became aware of two curious customs connected with the Baniyas, which I have not observed elsewhere. On every Saturday the Baniyas pour oil and grain over small raised spots at the meeting of three streets; *2nd*, one day I noticed about 100 crows in a long straight line busily picking up grain which had been deposited for them. In a few minutes a long net on which they were standing was suddenly turned over them, and about three-fourths of them were prisoners. When I enquired for what purpose they were catching crows, I was told that on certain occasions pious people would buy them for the purpose of letting them go again. But their chief customers were Baniyas' wives, as there is a belief that they are more liable than others to transmigrate into crows. The men who catch the birds accordingly take their stand in front of each Baniya's house in succession, and holding up a crow call out—"behold so and so Baniya's wife." This generally has the desired effect of bringing out the Baniya's wife, who buys the crow and immediately lets it loose.

Another custom is of a different kind. The Multânis believed that if they can catch a hailstone before it reaches the ground, and cut it in two with a pair of scissors, the storm will begin to decrease from that moment.

TUSHAM.

About 28 miles to the south of Hânsi, near the village of Tushâm, there is a very remarkable steep hill which rises abruptly out of the sandy plain to a height of 800 feet, and is a striking and conspicuous object for 20 miles around. There are two inscribed rocks about half way up the hill, of which the larger one is a semi-detached block, some 7 or 8 feet high and 5 or 6 feet broad. On this there are three different inscriptions, two in large rough characters, and the

third in characters rather more than 1 inch in height, and very neatly and correctly engraved. The other rock, a smooth shining block of basalt, is situated about 40 feet lower down the hill, and was discovered by Mr. Bird, who kindly paid a visit to Tushâm at the request of Colonel McMahon, the Commissioner of the district, to whom I am indebted for the first copies of these inscriptions. This second rock has two separate inscriptions, the upper one in middle sized letters of about 2 inches, and the lower one in large letters from 2½ to 3½ inches rather roughly cut.

Mr. Bird spent some days in the village, and from his letter I quote the following interesting account: "The people know nothing about the place beyond the time of Raja Pithora. They say that the ruined fort on the summit of the hill, as well as an immense masonry causeway, of which clear traces still remain, were both constructed by that monarch. The fort appears to have been built partly of granite and partly of brick, but is now a complete ruin. Inside there is a large cistern for storing rain water, which is still in fair order.

"The causeway was nearly one mile in length. It extended from the fort to a Bârahdari, built on the summit of another small hill, which lies parallel to the Tushâm hill. All around the Bârahdari and along the spurs of both hills, masses of masonry and solid concrete, composed of lime and coarsely ground brick, still remain. The space between was bridged by an aqueduct, of which the solid remains, now nearly enveloped in sand, may still be seen on the side of the Tushâm hill.

"There are several holy places on the Tushâm hill. One of the bathing places is said to be equal in virtue to three places of pilgrimage elsewhere." Three melas are held during the year, which are frequented by a considerable number of pilgrims, who come to visit the holy polls. Mr. Bird, however, was unable to learn whether these pools are mentioned in the Purâns or other holy books of the Hindus.

Colonel McMahon describes these pools as "small caverns partially filled with water, which seem to be regarded as sacred, as the Hindus resort to them to bathe in considerable numbers.

Mr. Bird mentions that the people were all impressed with the idea that he had come to search for hidden treasure.

and asserted their respective claims to a share. They believe that the necessary information is given in the principal inscription for finding the treasure, regarding which they have a tradition that "nine crores will be found to the left," *bâin or, nau karor.*

No. 1 inscription in large characters consists of a single line—[1]

Jita Bhagavatobhakte chaturdise.

'May the worshippers of Bhagavata increase throughout the four quarters."

No. 2 consists of the word *Achârya* or "teacher" written twice in large characters.

No. 3 appears to have been intended for a repetition of No. 1, but the only portion now legible is *Jita Bhagavata.*

No. 4 consists of three lines—

Gautamasa gotrena Râvanya
putrena Achârya Achala-bhatta
** threna.*

"written by the descendant of Gautama, the son of Râvani, the Teacher Achala-bhatta."

These four inscriptions are later by one generation than the longer and more neatly executed record No. 5, as the name of *Râvani* is the last in it, while No. 4 is a record of her son.

No. 5 inscription consists of eight lines, of which the first two begin more to the left, and are somewhat larger than the rest. Below the middle of the inscription there is a *sun-standard,* exactly similar to that which is found on all the gold coins of the Gupta King Ghatotkacha, who probably reigned from about 50 A. D. to 79. The inscription is certainly as old as the time of the later Indo-Scythians, as the form of the letter *n* is earlier than that in any of the Gupta inscriptions. Indeed the name of Ghatotkacha himself is found in the beginning of the second line, but the inscription is not a record of the Gupta King himself, but of his conqueror, the Tushâra King Vishnu, which was engraved by a Buddhist mendicant named Jivama.

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[1] See Plate XI. of Tushâm inscriptions.

For the following translation and notes I am indebted to the kindness of Bâbu Prâtâpa Chanara Ghosha, the learned Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:—

Line 1.—" Let the (halo ?) arising from the lotus face of Jambavati protect the Bhikshu Jivama.

„ 2—" By the frost of Vishnu (or by Tushâra Vishnu) the glory of the lotus face of the ladies of Ghatotkacha,

„ 3.—" Many people, uninvited, Aryas, followers of Vishnu, professors of the Yoga philosophy.

„ 4.—" The great-grandson of the faithful in Bhagavat *Yasatrâta*, the grandson of the professor *Vishnutrâta*,

„ 5.—" the son of *Vasu Deva*, born of Râvani, the grandson of Srâvama, professor and teacher,

„ 6.—" of *(Pa) dmagatanaya*, professor, giver of opinion (or counsel) * * * of the feet of Bhagavata.

" The first record in line 1 is doubtless the name of the Buddhist mendicant, or Bhikshu, in whose favour protection is sought. The word *ava*, protect, is the verb.

In the 2nd line, Vishnu is evidently the name of a hero or king, who, having conquered Ghatotkacha, causes the face of his enemy's wife to be downcast, poetically whose *frost* causes the lotus of the lady's face to close. But if Tushâra be taken as a proper name, Vishnu becomes an epithet following the tone. The lotus face is compared to Lakshmi (glory).

" In the 4th line, the word *Satvata* means a follower of Vishnu.

" The word *Matânaprada* is doubtful. I have rendered it as an epithet. If it be taken as a proper name, the grammar becomes faulty, as in line 2nd; for it then could not coalesce into one word with the epithet which follows. It would require a *sya*, the mark of the genitive case, as in the epithet which precedes it."

When I submitted this inscription to the learned translator, I brought to his notice the name or epithet *Tushâra*, which occurs in the 2nd line in connection with the purely Hindu name of Vishnu. In my account of the Mathura

inscriptions, in which the name of the Tushâra King Vasu Deva occurs so often, I pointedly drew attention to this evidence of the early adoption of Hindu names by the Indo-Scythians.[1] I then suggested the identity of this Vasu Deva of the coins and inscriptions with Vasu Deva, the first of the four princes of the Kanwa dynasty, according to the lists of the Purânas. I now propose to identify the present Tushâra chief *Vishnu* with the 3rd Kanwa Prince named *Nârâyana*, who reigned from A. D. 57 to 69. This identification is corroborated by the date of Ghatotkacha, who, as the father of Chandra Gupta I, must have reigned from about A. D. 50 to 79, so that he and the Kanwa Prince Nârâyana were actually contemporaries. According to my view, the *Kanwas* (or *Tushâras* of India) held sway in Mathura, Delhi, and the Panjâb until A. D. 79, when their power was either subverted altogether, or much reduced in extent by Chandra Gupta I, to whom the consolidation of the Gupta dominions was certainly due, as he is the first of the race who assumed the title of king of kings or *Mahârâjâdhirâja*.

The name of *Tushâm* itself also appears to me to be derived from these Tushâra Princes, as its original form was most probably *Tushârârâma*, or the "Tushâra Monastery," which was first shortened to *Tushârâm*, and then to *Tushâm*. I conclude therefore that the neighbouring fortress of Hânsi, which in later times became the head quarters of the first Musalman King, Kutb-ud-din, must have been one of the chief strongholds of the Indo-Scythian Princes in Northern India.

HISAR PILLAR.

The pillar at Hisâr was first brought to notice by Captain Brown in 1838.[2] On seeing the pillar, he says, "it immediately struck me that the base part of the column was one of the ancient Budh monuments, corresponding with those at Allahabad and Delhi. The stone appears of the same description, but has suffered much from exposure to climate. It has also the appearance of having been partially worked

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, p. 42. The same early adoption of Hindu names by families of foreign origin is seen in that of Jayadama, the son of the Satrap Chashtan, and in that of Vishnu Dâsa, the son of Chhagaliga; the former about B. C. 30, and the latter about A. D. 100, contemporary with Samudra Gupta.

[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, 426.

by Firoz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface. I, however, observed near the upper part of the stone *some of the ancient letters*, which apparently have been saved by accident, and having procured a ladder, I copied them as correctly as possible, and few and indistinct as they are, I think it is likely they will satisfy you that this is one of the *lâts* erected by Piyadasi. * * The ancient stone * * is of one piece, and is 10 feet 10 inches high * * and the greatest circumference above ground is 8½ feet. The rest of the pillar is of the red sandstone common at Agra, and there is part of the column near the second cornice made of coarse white marble."

Regarding the ancient letters copied by Captain Brown, James Prinsep remarks :[1] "The faint traces of letters on the Hânsi pillar have much more the appearance of English capitals than old Indian letters. If read, however, as the latter, they form no word met with on the other *lâts*."

I have now had copies made of the ancient letters observed by Captain Brown, and they prove to be easily legible. They are not, however, as he supposed, remains of one of Asoka's inscriptions, but the separate names of pilgrims who visited the spot where the pillar originally stood. There are eight of these records engraved on different parts of the pillar, and, from the shapes of the letters *m* and *n*, I conclude that they belong to the first century after Christ, that is, to the same period as the inscriptions on the Tushâm Rock. In fact, one of them marked A would appear to have been recorded by the very same person who engraved the Tushâm inscription. Copies of these short records will be found in the accompanying plate—[2]

On one side of the pillar—

a.—Bhagavad bhaktah—
"The worshipper of Bhagavat."

b.—Sri Nandila Suvarnakâra Rudra— * * *
"The auspicious Nandila, the goldsmith (son of) Rudra."

c.—Sri Umadâ (sa) sya—
"Of the auspicious Umadâsa."

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[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, p. 430—note.
[2] See Plate XLI. inscriptions A to H.

*d.—Suvarnuta * sya—*
"Of the gold-smith Ut (tama)? * * *"
On the *opposite side* of the pillar—
e.— Pucha-trata,* or *Nucha-trata.*

This name is followed by the Greek letter B, with a perpendicular stroke under it, which probably led to Prinsep's remark that the characters had more the appearance of English capitals than of old Indian letters. One or more letters must be lost at the beginning.

*f.—** dyasya—*
"Of (name last) Upâdya."
g.—Satra-yasa—
"Satra-yasa."
h.—Sri (Na) ga-bhadra—
"The auspicious (Na) ga-bhadra."

Regarding the position of the pillar, I think it very doubtful that Hisâr was its original site. Hânsi or Asi was the capital of this part of the country, while Hisâr was only a village until it became a pet place of Firoz Tughlak. Ferishta calls the village *Abasin* or *Raisin,*[1] while in the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi it is named *Arâman,*[2] and in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi it is called *Laras.*[3] All these different spellings are only varieties of one name, due to the wonderful imperfection of the Persian characters. But both agree in stating that Firoz brought a canal from the hills to Hânsi, and from thence to Abasin (or Arâman), where he built a strong fort which he called Hisâr Firozah. It is true, as Captain Brown remarks, that Hisâr is on the high road from Delhi to Kabul, but it was only a village; and when we rememner that both of the Delhi pillars were brought from other places by Firoz Shah, I think it most probable that the Hisâr pillar was removed from some other place to its present site. I have a suspicion that the other portion of the Hisâr pillar is now standing at the neighbouring town of Fatehabad, where it was set up by Firoz Shah's eldest son. Fateh Khan, the founder of Fatehabad.

DELHI PILLARS.

The smaller inscriptions on the two Delhi pillars were not noticed by Prinsep, because he had no impression of the

[1] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 450, Raisin—other copies—Abasin.
[2] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, IV, 8.
[3] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 298.

whole surface of the column, but only a hand copy of Asoka's edicts and of the long inscription of the Chauhân king Visala Deva. These short records of pilgrims' visits are not of much value, but they are curious as showing some of the vernacular forms at different periods.

There are two of Asoka's pillars at Delhi, one standing on the top of a building in Firoz Shah's Kotila in Firozabad, and the other on the ridge to the south of Shahjâhanâbad, near a ruined building called Pirgheb. Both of these pillars were brought to Delhi by Firoz Shah; the first from Topar or Tobra, at the foot of the Siwâlik hills near Khizrabad, on the Jumna, and the other from Mirat.[1] I have therefore added the names of their original sites to that of Delhi for the sake of distinction, as the Delhi-Siwâlik pillar and the Delhi-Mirat pillar. The first has remained erect since it was set up by Firoz Shah 500 years ago, but the other was thrown down and broken into several pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine in the beginning of the last century. After lying on the ground for nearly one hundred and fifty years, it has again been set up by the British Government on the same ridge where it was placed by Firoz Shah.

The smaller inscriptions on the Delhi-Siwâlik pillar are of several different periods from the first century of the Christian era down to the last. The most modern records are not legible, but the others are generally in fair condition, although all of them are roughly executed, when compared with the beautiful engraving of Asoka's edicts—

a.—Varapuhali achata Savara—

b.—Surya Vishnu Subarnakârena—

"By the goldsmith Surya Vishnu."

c.—Hâriti (beside a leaf)—

"Hariti."

d.—Varma Suvarnakâra—

"*Varma*, the goldsmith."

*e.—Hara Mirgha Subarnakâra pakita barma * * kumâra subarnakâra sa putra—*

"Hara Mirgha, the goldsmith. * * and his son Kumâra, the goldsmith."

[1] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, p. 350.

f.—Sidhi Bhayankara Nátha Jogi—

"To the holy one, Bhayankar Nath, the devotee.'

g.—Sam 1581.
Varashe Chaitra badi—
5 *li. Ama.*

"In the Samvat year 1581 (A. D. 1524), on the 5th of the waning moon of Chaitra, the writing of Ama."

h.—Sidhi Sri Samvat 1581 *va*
Chaitra badi 13 *Bhauma dine*
le. Vidsah—sâyana
Suta Sulitâna Ibarâhi—
ma ki * * * * *rajah-mi Ba-*
hâdur Khân bin mi. * *Vya*
* * * * * * *mi.* * * * *

"To the holy one. In the Samvat year 1581 (A. D. 1524), on Tuesday, the 13th of the waning moon of Chaitra, the writing of Vyâs, the son of Sâyana in the reign of Sultân Ibrahim (Ludi)."

The *Subarnakâras* of the early records *b*, *d*, and *e* are the *sonârs* or goldsmiths of the present day. *Bhayankar Nâth Jogi*, the writer of *f*, is an old acquaintance, as I found his name in the caves of Barâbar in Bihâr. All these inscriptions were engraved while the pillar was standing on its original site at Topar, the point where the Jumna leaves the hills. The two remaining records, dated in Samvat 1581, were engraved long after the removal of the pillar to Delhi; and just one year and a half before the conquest of Delhi by Bâbar.

On the Delhi-Mirat pillar the small inscriptions are all comparatively modern, only two of them being earlier by a few years than the date of its removal from Mirat—

k.—Samvat 1369, *Pausha dasamydm Sanau*
le. Vira Pâla Suta Sindhâdhipati krodaodsa * *
Vithu Samâpitdm.

"In the Samvat year 1369 (A. D. 1312), on Saturday, the 10th (day) of Pausha, the writing of Vira Pâla's son."

l.—Samvat 1116 * * * *Sudi* 15.
* * *Sâha suta mala Sâha Sunar likhitam.*

"In Samvat year 1416 (A. D. 1359), written by * * Sâha's son, Mala Sâha, the goldsmith."

m.—Samvat 1581 *varashe.*
Pausha sudi 1 *li. Amara Kuperojya valli.*

"In the Samvat year 1581 (A. D. 1524), on the 1st (day) of the waning moon of Pausha, written by Amara." * * *

JALANDHAR.

The rich district of Jâlandhar formerly comprised the whole of the Upper Doâbs between the Râvi and the Satlej. The capital of the country was the city of Jâlandhar, and Kot Kangra, or Nagar Kot, was only the stronghold or place of refuge in times of trouble. The name is said to have been derived from the famous Dânava Jâlandhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean, who is considered the "Father of Rivers". "At his birth the Earth trembled and wept, and the three worlds resounded; and Brahma having broken the seal of meditation, and having perceived the universe lost in terror, mounted his *hansa*, and reflecting on this prodigy, proceeded to the sea — * *. Then Brahma said—'Why, O Sea! dost thou uselessly produce such loud and fearful sounds?' Ocean replied—'It is not I, O chief of gods? but my mighty son, who thus roars' * * * When Brahma beheld the wonderful son of Ocean he was filled with astonishment, and the child having taken hold of his beard, he was unable to liberate it from his grasp, but Ocean, smiling, approached and loosed it from the hand of his son. Brahma, admiring the strength of the infant, then said—'From his holding so firmly let him be named *Jâlandhara*;' and further with fondness bestowed on him this boon—'This *Jâlandhara* shall be unconquered by the gods, and shall through my favour enjoy the three worlds."

"When the boy was grown up, Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, appeared before his father and said to Ocean—'Thy son shall through his might firmly enjoy the three worlds; do thou, therefore, recede from Jambudwîpa, the sacred abode of holy men, and leave unwashed by thy waves an extent of country sufficient for the residence of Jâlandhara. There, O Sea? give a kingdom to this youth, who shall be invincible.' Sukra having thus spoken * * the Sea sportively withdrew his waves, and exposed, devoid of water, a country extending 300 *zojanas* in length, which became celebrated under the name of the Holy Jâlandhara.'"[1]

I have quoted this passage at length, as it seems to contain a very distinct allusion to the physical fact that the plains of Jâlandhar, which form the junction point of the valleys of

[1] Colonel Vans Kennedy from the Uttara Khanda of the Padma Purana.—Researches in Mythology, Appendix, p. 467

the Indus and Ganges, were once covered by the ocean. This is what Professor Huxley calls the "river-plain," which extends from the Arabian Gulf to the Bay of Bengal, and bears the water of the Indus to the west and those of the Ganges to the east.[1] The fact of the former extension of the sea up the valleys of the Ganges and Indus was first published by Wilford towards the end of the last century after he had discovered some sea beaches in the recesses of the Rajmahal Hills. These sea beaches have since been traced by the Geological Survey as high as Ghazipur on the Ganges; and as there seems to be no doubt that the ocean once filled the valleys of both rivers, I think it very probable that the legend of Jâlandhar is rather a traditionary remembrance of the curious physical fact than the invention of the Purânic author.

The story of Jâlandhar is related at full length in the Padma Purâna; but as this has no special connection with the province of Jâlandhar, it need not be repeated here. The account of his death, however, is very meagre and uninteresting, and I must refer to the local Purâna, which is supported by the traditions of the people, for the closing scene of the Titan's career. The invincibility of Jâlandhar was derived from the spotless purity of his wife, Vrindâ, which was overcome by the fraud of Vishnu in personating her husband. The Titan was then conquered by Siva, who cut off his head; "but quickly the head rejoined the trunk, and repeatedly did it regain its wonted place after having been dissevered by Siva." To prevent this continuous resuscitation Siva buried the giant under ground, and so vast was his size that his body covered a circuit of 48 kos, or about 64 miles, which is said to be the exact extent of the present pilgrim's route called *Jâlandhar tirath.* But as all the places of note in this line of pilgrimage lie to the north of the Biâs River, with the single exception of Kâlesar on its south bank, the city of *Jâlandhara,* which derives its name from the Titan, is most inexplicably excluded from the holy circuit. That this was not the case in former times is quite certain, as the Hindu name of the district in which the town of Jâlandhar is situated is *Jâlandhar-pith,* or *Jâlandhar's* back. The story which I heard in 1846, when I first visited the

[1] Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Vol. I. p. 91.

Kangra Valley, placed the head only of the Titan to the north of the Biâs, with his mouth at Jwâla Mukhi, while his body covered the whole extent of country lying between the Biâs and the Satlej Rivers, his back being immediately beneath the district of Jâlandhar and his feet at Multân. A glance at the map will show that this version of the legend must have originated in the shape of the country as defined by its two limiting rivers, not unlike that of the constellation of Orion. From Nadaon to the south of Jwâla Mukhi, that is, just below the Titan's mouth, the Satlej and Biâs approach each other within 24 miles to form his neck. Both rivers then recede from each other, until they are 96 miles apart, at Rupar and Adinanagar, which form the two shoulders. The two rivers now join at Firozpur, but only a few centuries ago they did not approach each other nearer than 16 miles between Kasur and Firozpur, where they formed the giant's waist, and then ran parallel courses, like a pair of legs, down to Multân.

Another version of the legend I owe to General Saunders Abbott, who for a long time was Deputy Commissioner of the Kangra District: "Jâlandhar was a râkshas or demon, who would not allow the Doâb, now called by his name, to be located. Bhagwân (or Vishnu) took the form of a dwarf (bân-rup) and killed the demon, who fell upon his face, and the city of Jâlandhar was then built on his back (*pith*). The demon was 48 *kos* in extent, or 12 kos in every direction from the middle of his back, that is, from the city of Jâlandhara. This was the first place occupied; all others are of later date." I have a suspicion that the name of *Jâlandhar-pith* may have suggested to Akbar his new appellation of *Bist Jâlandhar*, which is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It is at any rate quite certain that the name is not confined to the short 48 kos *tirath*, as I found an inscription in 1846 in a temple at Nireyâna at the junction of the Gaj River with the Biâs, which distinctly stated that that temple was situated in Jâlandhar-pith, although it is far beyond the limits of the Jâlandhar-tirath of the Brahmans of the present day. According to them the top of the head of the Titan lies under the temple of *Nandkeswara Mahâdeva* at Jindrângol on the Nigwal River. Between this place and Pâlampur the pine tree forest is called *Vrindâvana* or "forest of Vrindâ" after the wife of *Jâlandhar*. The head

itself is said to be under the Mukteswar temple in the village of Sûnsol, 5 miles to the north-east of Baijnâth. One hand is placed at Nandikeswara (that is on the top of the head), and the other at Baijnâth (near the head), while the feet are at Kalesar on the left bank of the Biâs river to the south of Jwâla Mukhi.

Another name for the country lying between the Râvi and Satlej is *Trigartta* or *Traigartta-desa*, the "land watered by three rivers," which are the Râvi, the Biâs, and the Satlej. Similarly the district lying between the Râvi and the Chenâb is called *Dogardes* or *Dogartta-desa*, the "land watered by two rivers." The name of *Trigartta* is found in the Mahâbhârata and in the Purâns, as well as in the Raja Tarangini or history of Kashmir. It is also given as synonimous with Jâlandhar by Hema Chandra, who says—

Jâlandharas Trigartâh syuh.
"Jâlandhara, *i. e.*, Trigarta"—

and the Trikanda Sesha has

Bâhlikâscha Trigartaka—

which Lassen renders by

Bâhlici iidem sunt ac Trigartici.[1]

But here the name should be *Bâhika*, as we know from the Mahâbhârata that *Bâhi* and *Hika* were the names of two demons of the Biâs River, after whom the country was called Bâhika.

The account which the people of the country give of themselves is simple and perhaps true, and the genealogy of the royal family from the time of its founder, Susarma Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim on our belief than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more brilliant and more powerful Kshatriya families of Rajputâna. They claim to be descendants of the Moon, and they assert that their ancestor, Susarma, held the district of Multân, and fought in the Great War on the side of Duryodhana against the Pândus.[2] After the war they lost their lands and retired under Susarma Chandra to the district of Jâlandhara, where they established themselves and built the strong fort of Kot Kangra.

[1] Pentapotamia Indica, p. 52.

[2] See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 193, for extract from Mahâbhârata in which the *Trigarttâs* are mentioned, and Note 122, where Wilson mentions that they were engaged in the Great War

As Chandravansis, the Raja of Jâlandhara, took the title of Chandra, which the family profess to have borne from the time of Susarma Chandra down to the present day, it is quite certain that this title has been borne for many centuries. Thus the inscription in the temple of Baijnath at Kiragrâma, which is dated in A. D. 804, calls the Raja of Jâlandhara by the name of *Jaya Chandra*; and towards the end of the same century Kalhana Pandit records that *Prithvi Chandra*, Raja of Trigartta, fled before the arms of Sankara Varmma. His son also was Bhuvana Chandra.[1] At a later date, or about A. D. 1040, Kalhana speaks of *Indu Chandra* as the Raja of *Jálandhara*.[2] That the same cognomen was continued in the family down to the present time, we know from their coins and inscriptions as well as from the casual mention of some of the princes by Muhammadan authors.

The extent of country which was subject to the Rajas of Trigartta is not easy to fix, as it must have been continually changing in accordance with the fluctuating strength or weakness of their more powerful neighbours in the south. At the time of the composition of the Mahâbhârata, the capital of the *Báhikas* was the famous Sâkala or Sangala to the west of the Râvi.[3] But soon after the strong fort of Kangra must have been occupied by the Indo-Scythians, who would appear to have retained possession of it until the time of Mahmûd. But as the rajas of Trigartta or Jâlandhara are frequently mentioned before his time, it is certain that they were not deprived of all their territories, and I conclude that their early position under the Indo-Scythians was that of tributaries, similar to their later position under the Muhammadan emperors of Delhi. But whenever the ruling power was weakened by intestine dissensions or foreign invasions, the rajas of Trigartta took advantage of the opportunity to seize their family stronghold of Kot Kangra and to re-assert their independence. Thus we find that Kangra, which had been captured by Muhammad Tughlak[4], had fallen into the hands of Raja Rûp Chand, from whom it was again taken by Firoz Shah. The fort was

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[1] Raja Tarangini, Vol. V. p. 144-145.
[2] Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 150 and 182.
[3] Lassen's Pentapotamia Indica.
[4] Kassaid of Badr Chach in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, Vol. III, p 570.—The place was taken in A. H. 738, or A. D. 1337.

then held by the Muhammadans for about 40 years, until the terrible invasion of Timur, when the Trigart chief again got possession of his stronghold and kept it until the time of Akbar, when Raja Dharma Chandra became tributary to the Mughal empire of Delhi. His descendant, Trilokya Chandra, rebelled against Jahangir, but was soon reduced. From that time the rajas of Trigartta were mere tributaries of Delhi, until the rise of the Sikhs and the consequent downfall of the empire gave Sansâra Chandra the opportunity of retaking Kot Kangra, and of extending his dominions to the Satlej on the east and to the Râvi on the west. So elated was he with these acquisitions that it seemed quite possible to him to extend his rule over the plains of Jâlandhar, and to grasp once more the sceptre of the wider domains of his ancestors. But his dream of restoring the ancient kingdom of the Trigarttas was rudely disturbed by the advance of the Gorkhas, against whom he was obliged to seek the assistance of Ranjit Singh. The aid of the Sikh was readily given, but with the sacrifice of Kot Kangra, which then passed away from the descendants of Susarma Chandra for ever.

Although the Trigartta rajas have played but an unimportant part in history, so far as we know, yet their names are so frequently brought to notice either in inscriptions, or in the Hindu history of Kashmir, or in the Muhammadan history of Delhi, that their genealogy for a limited period may be useful for reference both to the historian and to the numismatist. I have had the advantage of consulting several genealogical lists, of which the principal were the two family rolls of the Guler and Kangra rajas—a roll obtained by Mr. E. C. Bayley through the Kâzi of Kangra,—and a roll procured by myself from Chaju Brahman at the time of the British occupation in March 1846.

The earliest notice of a Raja of Jâlandhara by name is by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who, when he was about to start on his return journey, was placed by Harsha Varddhana of Kanoj under the protection of *U-ti-to*, King of Jâlandhara,[1] who was tributary to Kanoj. Now, the seventh name in the lists preceding Jaya Chandra, or Jayamalla Chandra, who was reigning in A. D. 804 according to the

[1] Julien's Hwen-Thsang, Vol. I, p. 259.

Baijnâth inscription, is *Adima*, which is very probably the same as *U-ti-to*, or *Udita* of Hwen Thsang, as seven generations at 25 years each would place *Adima* in A. D. 804—175, or A. D. 629, that is during the very period of Hwen Thsang's travels in India. But after Jaya Chandra the list of names is so full that the average length of reign is reduced to 12 or 13 years, or just eight reigns per century. Thus from Jaya Chandra down to Indra Chandra, a contemporary of Ananta of Kashmir, A. D. 1028 to 1081, there are 18 reigns, which at 12½ years each would place Indra Chandra in A. D. 1029. From that time down to Rûpa Chandra, the contemporary of Firoz Tughlak, there are 34 kings, covering a space of about 340 years, or only 10 years to each reign. This was most probably in consequence of the troubles which succeeded the Muhammadan conquest by Mahmâd of Ghazni. From Rûpa Chandra down to the expulsion of Ranavira Chandra in 1847, there are 47 names which give an average of just 17 years. This last portion of the list is most probably quite correct, excepting perhaps in the spelling of a few names, as we possess numerous coins of many of the rajas, and have besides the parallel genealogy of the rajas of Guler from the time of Hari and Karmma, the great-grandsons of Rûpa Chandra. Hari was the elder brother, and he succeeded his father as Raja of Traigartta. But shortly after his accession he accidently fell down a well at Harsar when out sporting, and could not be found. His younger brother, Karmma, was then proclaimed, and the wives of Hari became satis. But after two or three days Hari was discovered by a *baipári*, who took him out and revived him. But as his funeral ceremonies had been performed he could not recover his original kingdom, and was obliged to be content with the smaller state of Guler. As a reward to the baipâri for his assistance, Hari Chandra remitted all duties on his goods—an exemption which was respected by the succeeding rajas, including the Sikhs, and only became obsolete on the general remission of duties by the British Government.

RAJAS OF TRIGARTTA.

Accession. A. D.	Lists.	Coins.	
1315	Jaya Sinha	.. ...	
1330	Prithvi ...	Pithama ...	
1345	Purva ...	Apurvva ...	
1360	Rûpa ...	Rupa ...	Contemporary of Firoz.
1375	Sringâra ...	Singâra ...	
1390	Megha ...	Megha ...	
1405	Hari ...	Hari ...	} Brothers.
1420	Karmma ...	Karmma ...	
1435	Sansâra ...	Sansâra ...	Contemporary of Muhammad Sayid of Delhi (inscript.) A. D. 1433-1446.
1450	Devângga ...	Avatâra ...	
1465	Narendra ...	Narendra ...	
1480	Suvira ...	......	
1495	Prayâga ...	......	
1510	*Râma* ...	Râma ...	Died Samvat 1585=A. D. 1528.
1528	Dharmma ...	Dharmma ...	{ Accession of Akbar, A. D. 1556. Still alive in Samvat 1619=A. D. 1562 (date of poem).
1563	Mânikya ..	......	
1570	Jaya ...	......	17th and 18th of Akbar=1571-1573.
1585	Vriddhi ...	......	35th of Akbar=1588-1589.
1610	Triloka ...	Triloka ...	Rebelled against Jahângir, A. D. 1619.
1630	Hari ...	... ..	
1650	Chandrabhân	......	Rebelled against Aurangzib.
1670	Vijâya Râmâ	......	*Died in 1687—Sati monument.*
1687	Bhima ...	......	Reigning in S. 1747=A. D. 1690.
1697	Alama ...	......	Reigned four years, 1697 to 1700.
1700	Hamira ...	......	
1747	Abhaya ...	......	
1761	Ghamanda...	......	In Samvat 1821=A. D. 1764; fortified Pathiâr.
1773	Tega ...	......	
1776	Sansâra ...	......	
1823	Aniruddha	......	
1828	Ranavira ...	......	
1847			

The hief places of note in the ancient province of Jâlandhara, or Trigartta, are the city of Jâlandhara and the old fort of Pathânkot in the plains, the forts of Dharmeri and Kot Kangra, and the famous temples of Baijnâth and Jwâla Mukhi in the hills. A few sculptured stones have been found about Jâlandhar, but no remains of any consequence have yet been discovered.

PATHANKOT.

The old fort of Pathânkot is, I believe, one of the most ancient sites in the Panjâb, as its position is especially favorable as a mart for the interchange of produce between the hills and plains. Situated in the middle of the narrow neck of land, only 16 miles in width, which divides the valleys of the Biâs and Râvi, at the point where they leave the hills, *Pathânkot* naturally became the great emporium between the two rich valleys of Kangra and Chamba in the hills, and the great cities of Lahor and Jâlandhar in the plains. The name of the place is said to have no reference to the Pathân Afghans, but is a genuine Hindu word derived from *Pathân*— a road—as if it was intended to describe the great meeting of the roads which here takes place. The fort is certainly very much older than any Muhammadan Pathâns; but I have a suspicion that the name may perhaps have been derived from some modern Pathân restorer. This is admitted by the Muhammadans, although it is stoutly denied by the Hindus, who point to the title of *Pathâniya*, which was borne by the rajas of Nurpur as a proof that the name is an Indian one.

Indeed, some of them spell the name *Pathiyân*, but this is uncommon, and may be either simple ignorance, or a wish to avoid the appearance of a Muhammadan origin. The only separate name of a mahalla is Gopâlpur, which may perhaps be the real name of the town, and Pathânkot that of the fort after restoration by some *Pathân* governor. The name is generally spelt with the cerebral *th* and the cerebral *n*.

The old fort is now a mere mound, about 600 feet square and 100 feet high, with a *raoni*, or faussebraie, of about 80 feet in width all round. The town lies chiefly on the east and south-west sides, where the ground is still much elevated, rising to a height of 10 and even 15 feet in some places. The mounds to the north-east are now ploughed up and divided into fields. This is said to have been the site of the original city, and here old coins are found in considerable numbers by the village boys.

The present town to the south and east of the fort is said to be only 400 years old; but the name of Pathânkot is probably older, as it occurs repeatedly in the rhyming Hindi poem of the capture of Kot Kangra by Firoz Tughlak, which

was written shortly after the accession of Akbar.[1] The walls of the fort were still standing at the time of the British occupation; but they were soon after pulled down to furnish bricks for the works of the Bâri Doâb Canal, and for the canal officers' houses at Madhopur. They are of very large size, which is a sure sign of Hindu origin, as well as of great age.

Amongst the coins which I obtained at Pathânkot were a Greek zoïlus with specimens of the Indo-Scythian kings—Vonones, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Gondophares—and one of the satraps of Surashtra.

The Muhammadan coins ranged from Khusru the Ghaznivide down to Shah Jahân, and the coins of the Kangra rajas from Pithama Chandra down to Triloka. I was surprised to get only two specimens of the Hindu rajas of Kashmir, which are so abundant in the north-western provinces of the Panjâb. But this scarcity only confirms what we know from history, that the rule of Kashmir even at its most flourishing period did not extend to the east of the Râvi. There was a single specimen of the Indo-Sassanian period, with the name in Nâgari letters of *Sri Vagamârisa*, which recalls the name of *Barkamâris* preserved by Rashid-uddin in the Mojmal-ut-Tawârikh.[2]

But the most curious, and by far the most interesting, coins discovered at Pathânkot were six early Hindu coins, which certainly date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. As I have not found a single specimen of these coins elsewhere, I take them to be the ancient coinage of Pathânkot itself. These coins are thin pieces of copper, either square or oblong, with a temple on one face and an elephant on the other. Beside the temple are the symbols of Swasti and Dharma, and underneath it a snake. Before the elephant there is a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with an Arian legend on two sides, of which the first half is illegible, but the latter half is distinct, and reads *Odumbara*. It is possible that the inscription may refer to the tree which it accompanies, an "Udumbara" or *Ficus glomerata*; but I think it more probable that it must be the name of the town or district, as we have several examples of such names being placed on coins, as *Yaudheya*,

[1] The Dharm Chand Nâtak was written in the Samvat year 1619, or A. D. 1562.
[2] Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans," p. 48.

Sibi, *Ujeniya*, and *Málavána*. We know also that *Audumbara* was actually used as the name of the province of Kachh as early at least as the time of Pliny; who mentions the *Odombeores*. But as *Udumbara* is also a name of copper, it is quite possible that *Audumbara* may simply refer to the prevailing red colour of the hilly district of Nurpur. This suggestion receives some support from the fact that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was *Darmeri* or Dharmeri, which is not an improbable abbreviation of *Audumbara*. The name was changed to Nurpur by Jahângir in honor of his wife Nûr Jahân.

KOT KANGRA.

The famous fort of *Kot Kangra*, or *Nagarkot* as it is more generally called by the Muhammadan historians, is said to have been built by Susarma Chandra shortly after the close of the *Mahâbhârata* or Great War. Its strong position in the precipitous fork at the junction of the Mânjhi and Bân Gangâ Rivers must have ensured its occupation at a very early date; but there is nothing now remaining of an earlier date than the 9th or 10th century. There is no notice of the *fort* before the time of Mahmûd in A. D. 1009, but the vast wealth obtained by the captor was, according to Utbi, the "accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it." But he afterwards gives the details as follows: "The stamped coin amounted to 70,000 royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to 700,000, 400 *mâns* in weight.[1]" There is no means of estimating the value of the ingots, as the gold and silver are lumped together; but the value of the stamped coin alone amounted to upwards of £1,750,000. In connection with this great accumulation of treasure I may quote the statement of Abu Rihân, that the genealogical roll of the Indo-Scythian princes of Kabul for 60 generations was found in the fortress of Nagarkot by Mahmûd's soldiers.[2] From this statement I infer that the fort of Kangra must have belonged to the rajas of Kabul for several generations,

[1] *Utbi*, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, pp. 31-35.
[2] *Al Biruni*, in ditto Vol. II, p. 10.

and that it was their chief stronghold in which they deposited their treasures, after they had been driven from the banks of the Indus. It is almost impossible that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty rajas of the Kangra Valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kabul. Ferishta calls the amount 700,000 golden *dinars*, which would be less than half a million sterling; but the account of the contemporary writer, Utbi, is given in royal *dirhams*, which were silver coins of 50 grains each. We know also that the circulating medium of the Panjâb in the time of Mahmûd consisted of the silver pieces of the Hindu rajas of Kabul, weighing about 50 grains each. As many thousands of these coins have been found throughout the Panjâb, while not a single gold piece of these kings has yet been discovered, I am satisfied that the treasure obtained by Mahmûd in Nagarkot must have consisted chiefly of the silver pieces, or *drammas*, of the Hindu rajas of Kabul.

In his account of this siege, Ferishta states that Nagarkot was then called the "fort of Bhima' which was the name of the founder.[1] But in Utbi's chronicle it is named *Bhimnagar*, or "town of Bhim," which, as well as I could ascertain, was strictly confined to the town on the level ground outside the fort, which was properly called *Kot Kangra*, or the fort of Kangra. When both places were intended to be mentioned, then the two names were joined together. as *Nagarkot*, which comprises both *Bhimnagar* and *Kot Kangra*.

Before the time of Mahmûd there is no notice of the fort of Kangra, but the country of Trigartta is repeatedly mentioned in the native history of Kashmir. The earliest notice is about A. D. 470, when Pravarasena I. bestowed the land of Trigartta on Pravaresa (Siva), the protector of towns.[2] The next notice is about A. D. 520, when his grandson. Pravarasena II is recorded to have "conquered the country of the Trigarttas.[3]" The last notice is just before A. D. 900, when "Prithivi Chandra, Raja of Trigartta, is said to have fled before the arms of Sankara Varmma.[4] Though these notices are rather vague, yet they serve to

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[1] Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 48.
[2] Raja Tarangini, Vol. III p. 100.
[3] Ibid, Vol. III, p. 285.
[4] Ibid, Vol V, p. 144.

show that *Trigartta* had existed as a separate kingdom for at least six centuries before the time of Mahmûd.

The next notice of Kot Kangra is in A. D. 1043, or just 32 years after its capture by Mahmûd, when the Hindus of the north-west, led by the Raja of Delhi, retook Hânsi and Thânesar from the Governors of Modud Ghaznavi, and then "marched towards the fort of Nagarkot, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison being distressed for provisions was under the necessity of capitulating.[1]" A new idol was then set up in place of that which had been carried away by Mahmûd. This was the image of the great goddess *Máta Devi*, whose temple still flourishes in the suburb of Bhawan on the north side of the hill of Nagarkot.

From this time the fort probably remained in the hands of the Hindus for nearly three centuries until A. D. 1337, when it was taken by Muhammad Tughlak. A notice of this capture is found in the Odes of Badr Châch, who says that the "stone fort of Nagarkot is placed between rivers, like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour, and is so impregnable, that neither Sikandar nor Dârâ was able to take it.[2]"

Kot Kangra again fell into the hands of the Hindus in the unsettled times which followed the death of Muhammad Tughlak in A. D. 1351, but it was recovered by his successor Firoz Tughlak in the early part of his reign. No date is given either by Shams-i-Sirâj or by Ferishta, nor in the Târikh-i-Mubârak Shâhi, but it took place some time between A. D. 1361 and 1370, or say about A. D. 1365. This expedition, however, would appear to have been brought about by an actual invasion of the Delhi territory by the Raja of Trigartta, as Ferishta relates that Shahâb-ud-din, King of Kashmir, shortly after his accession in A. D. 1357, was met on the banks of the Sutlej by "the Raja of Nagarkot, who had returned for a *plundering excursion into the Delhi* country, and having come back laden with spoils, he placed them at the feet of Shahâb-ud-din, and acknowledged fealty to that monarch.[3]"

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[1] Badr Châch, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 570.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Brigge's Ferishta, IV, 468.

Of this siege we have two separate Muhammadan accounts in the chronicles of Shams-i-Sirâj and Ferishta,[1] and some references to it in the doggrel rhymes of the Hindu bard Mânik Chand written in Samvat 1619, or A. D. 1562, during the reign of Raja Dharm Chand, the year before his submission to Akbar.

"According to Ferishta, the siege lasted for six months, when one day as Firoz was examining the fortress, he perceived the Raja standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood in an attitude of humility, and stretching forth his hands bowed in subjection; when the Sultân observed this, he drew a handkerchief from his bosom, and waving it kindly towards the Rai, he signed for him to come down.** So the Rai throwing his pride away came down from his fort, and making apologies, *cast himself at the feet of the Sultân, who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rai*, and having bestowed on him robes of honor and an umbrella, sent him back to his fort.[2]"

The humble submission of the Raja is not shirked by the Hindu writer, who also mentions the fact of Firoz placing his hand on the Raja's back, and at the same time gives the name of the Raja, which is omitted by both of the Muhammadan historians—

Rup Chandar barkar charko Dileswar Surtân,
Bahut het kar pag-paro, pith hâth lêi Sân.

"Rup Chandar went forth to meet the Sultân, lord of Delhi, and bowing very lowly down to his feet, the king put his hand on his back."

Shams-i-Sirâj states that Firoz found Nagarkot to be "very strong and secure." This timely submission of the Raja must therefore have been very welcome to Firoz, who after a long siege of six months was thus able to return to Delhi. The Raja saved his dominions at the expense of his stronghold, which was left in a large of a Muhammadan garrison. Upwards of twenty years later, in A. D. 1388, it was still in the possession of the king of Delhi, when Muhammad Shah, the son of Firoz, took refuge in Nagarkot from the pursuit of his nephew Ghiâs-ud-din Tughlak II. "That fortress," says Ferishta, "being very strong, his

[1] Târikh-i-Firoz Shahi, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 318, and Târikh-i-Ferishta, in Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, p. 328.

[2] Shams-i-Sirâj, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 319.

enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession, and returned to Delhi.[1]"

At a still later date, as we learn from an inscription in the temple of Vajreswari Devi in Bhawan, Raja Sansâra Chandra I, the son of Karmma Chandra, and the grandson of Megha Chandra, was a tributary of Muhammad Shah. The only prince of this name whose date will suit is Muhammad Sayid of Delhi, who reigned from A. D. 1433 to 1446. I conclude therefore that the fortress of Kangra was still in the hands of the Muhammadans, and that it most probably remained in their possession until the death of Ibrahim Ludi in A. D. 1526, when the troubled state of the country, consequent on the accession of a new dynasty, gave the Hindus a favorable opportunity of recovering their ancient stronghold. That they did obtain possession of Kot Kangra seems to be quite certain, as the famous Khawâs Khan was sent by Shir Shah to Nagarkot to bring the hill country under subjection. He "succeeded in conquering it, and having sacked the infidel's temple of *Devi Shankar*, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella, which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindu characters, representing it to be 2,000 years old. When the stone was sent to the king, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it, for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella, several pots were made in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the masjids, and in the king's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet, and face in them, and perform purifications before prayers[2]" This must have taken place early in the reign of Shir Shah, or about A. D. 1540.

The next notice of Kangra is just after the accession of Akbar in A. D. 1556. The young king received the news of his father's death at Kalanor, when he was in pursuit of Sikandar Shah Sûr, who had taken refuge in the hills. On this occasion Akbar is said to have subdued the country of Nagarkot, and received Dharm Chand, the Indian Prince of that province, into favour, but the rains coming on he took up his residence at Jâlandhar.[3] "Dharma Chandra,

[1] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 467.
[2] Wakiât-i-Mushtaki, in Dowson's Elliot, IV, 544.
[3] Briggs's Ferishta, II, 183.

who was then an old man, was allowed to retain the fort of Kangra, which passed to his son Mânikya Chandra in A. D. 1563. About ten years later he was succeeded by Jaya Chandra, who soon incurred the suspicions of Akbar, and in A. D. 1571 his country was invaded by the emperor's orders by Khan Jahân.[1] Akbar had Jay Chand imprisoned, and Bidhi Chand, his son, thinking that his father was dead, rebelled. Khan Jahân, on his way, conquered fort Kotlah, reached Nagarkot in the beginning of Rajab 980, and took the famous Bhawan temple outside of the fort. The siege was progressing, and the town reduced to extremities, when it was reported that Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Masûd Mirza had invaded the Panjâb. Khan Jahân therefore accepted a payment of 5 *Mans* of gold and some valuables, and raised the siege. He is also said to have erected a masjid in front of Jay Chand's palace in the fort, and to have read the *Khutbah* in Akbar's name" (Friday, middle of Shawwâl 980, end of February 1573 A. D.)

Fifteen years later Raja Bidhi Chandra again rebelled, apparently in concert with Rai Pratâp of Mânkot and Rai Parasrâm of Jammu. Zain Khan was sent against the rebels, who submitted and accompanied him to Court.[2] This was in the 35th year of Akbar, or A. D. 1588-89.

Bidhi Chandra was afterwards restored to his kingdom, on leaving his son Treloka Chandra as a hostage at Delhi. This was Akbar's policy to ensure the fidelity of the chiefs; and it is said that the sons of no less than twenty-two hill Rajâs were present at Delhi in the beginning of Jahângir's reign. The people have a story that when Jahângir and Treloka Chandra were boys together at Delhi, the Kangra Prince had a parrot which Jahângir wished to possess, but the Rajput refused to part with it. On this account Jahângir, after he became emperor, marched against him. The fort surrendered after three days' siege, and the Raja received the district of Rajgiri, yielding one lac of rupees as a jaghir. This story is widely spread amongst the people; but in spite of its general currency, I believe that the emperor's suspicions were aroused by the Kangra Raja's revival of the local coinage in his own name, a right which

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[1] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 330. In the quotation which follows, I have altered *Budi* to *Bidhi*, as the Sanskrit form of this Raja's name was Vriddhi Chandra.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 346

had not been exercised by either his father or grandfather. But whatever may have been the cause of Jahângir's action, the result was fatal to the Raja of Kangra, whose famous stronghold was placed under Nawâb Ali Khan with a Muhammadan garrison. He was succeeded by his son, whose name is supposed to have been Hurmat Khan.

During the reign of Shah Jahan the charge of the fortress was held by the Nawâbs Asad Ullah Khan and Koch Kalli Khan, the latter for 17 years until his death. He is buried on the banks of the Mununi River, a branch of the Bân Ganga which flows under Kangra.

During the reign of Aurangzib Kangra was successively under the charge of Sayid Husain Khan, Hasan Abdulla Khan, Pathan, and Nawâb Sayid Khalilullah Khan. Their rule was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzib's governors in other places, as in Multân, Mathura, Gwalior, and Banâras, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for mosques. But even without such an insult the young Raja of Trigartta had no doubt many personal indignities sufficient to provoke him into open rebellion. The Râj was then held by Chandrabhân Chandra, the grandson of Treloka; and his spirited but useless defiance of the Delhi governors still lives in the grateful memories of the people, who love to tell of the long resistance which he offered. He began by plundering the country on the plea that the whole of the district of Trigartta had belonged to his ancestors. A force was sent against him from Delhi, when he retired to the lofty hill, 9,000 feet high, which has ever since been called by his name *Chandrabhân ka-tila.* He was eventually captured and taken to Delhi, where he was kept a close prisoner.

After Aurangzib's death, the charge of the fort was held by several different persons until Nawâb Seif-ullah succeeded in A. D. 1743, and kept possession for 40 years until his death in 1783, when he was followed for a short time by his son Zulfikâr Khan. During the early part of Seif-ullah's governorship, the famous Adina Beg was appointed Faujdar of Jâlandhar by Alamgir Sâni, A. D. 1749 to 1759. After the invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdâli in A. D. 1757 Adina Beg made himself virtually independent, and took possession of Lahor. A force was sent against him from Delhi, which he defeated

near Sarhind, and the whole of the hill chiefs between the Sutlej and Jhelam, including the Muhammadan Governor of Kangra, then became tributary to him. He founded Adinanagar near Pathânkot, and was rapidly extending his influence, when he died in 1758.

In 1783 Kangra was besieged by Jay Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old Governor Seif-ullah died during the siege, and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son Zulfikâr. Sansâr Chandra, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege, and to have been disappointed when the Sikh Chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jay Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sansâr Chandra, which thus after a century and a half of Muhammadan rule became once more a part of the Hindu kingdom of Trigartta. But the ambition of Sansâr Chandra was not satisfied with the acquisition of this ancient stronghold of his family, and his successful attempts to enlarge his territories at the expense of his neighbours led the Raja of Kahlûr to call in the powerful aid of the Gorkhas, who then occupied some of the hill states to the east of the Sutlej. Amar Singh Thâpa, the Gorkha Commander-in-Chief, was delighted with the prospect of extending his power to the west. A strong force was despatched against Sansâr Chandra, who retired before it, and took refuge in Kot Kangra, where he was closely besieged by the Gorkhas for four years. At last in 1809, seeing that there was no chance of the Gorkhas retiring, he applied to Ranjit Singh for succour, which was readily granted on the condition of surrendering Kot Kangra. In his despair Sansâr Chandra sacrificed his stronghold for the sake of preserving the rest of his kingdom. The Gorkhas were defeated and driven across the Sutlej, and the fort of Kangra was occupied by Sikhs, who held it for nearly 37 years, until the surrender of the Jâlandhar states to the British Government in March 1846.

The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land in the fork between the Mânjhi and Bân Ganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit; but its strength does not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of the Bân Ganga rise to a height of about 300 feet. The only accessible

point is on the land side towards the town; but here the ridge of rock which separates the two rivers is narrowed to a mere neck of a few hundred feet, across which a deep ditch has been hewn at the foot of the walls. The only works of any consequence are at this eastern end of the fort, where the high ground appears to be an offshoot from the western end of the Målkera hill, which divides the town of Kangra from the suburb of Bhawan. The highest point is occupied by the palace, below which is a courtyard containing the small stone temples of Lakshmi Nåråyan and Ambika Devi, and a Jain temple with a large figure of Adinåth. The courtyard of the temples is closed by a gate called the *Darsani Darwâza* or "Gate of worshipping," and the gate leading from it to the palace is called the *Mahalon-ka Darwâza* or "Palace Gate." Below the temple gate is the upper gate of the fort called the *Andheri* or *Handeli Darwâza*. This is now a mere lofty arch; but formerly it was a long vaulted passage, which, on account of its darkness, received the name of *Andheri*, or "Dark Gate," which is sometimes corrupted to *Handeli*. The next gate, which is at the head of the ascent, is called the *Jahângiri Darwâza*. This is said to have been the outer gate of the fortress in the Hindu times, but its original name is unknown. Below this are the *Amiri Darwâza*, or "Nobles' Gate," and the *Ahini Darwâza*, or "Iron Gate," which received its name from being covered with plates of iron. Both of these gates are attributed to Nawåb Alif Khan, the first Mughal Governor under Jahångir. At the foot of the ascent, and on the edge of the scarped ditch, there is a small courtyard with two gates, called simply *Phâtak* or "the Gate," which is occupied by the guard.

The small temples in the fort are of the same style as the much larger temples of Baijnåth and Siddhnåth at Kiragråma, which will be hereafter described. Their walls are highly ornamented outside, but they are without pillars or pilasters, and are mere square rooms of small size, and without either inscriptions or traditions attached to them. So little in fact is known about them that one of the temples is simply called *Basüi*, or the kitchen. The Jain figure of Adinåth in the small temple dedicated to Pårasnåth has an inscription on its pedestal, which is dated in Samvat 1523, or A. D. 1466, during the reign of Sansåra Chandra I. There was formerly an inscription in the temple

dedicated to Kâli Devi, which still contains a figure of Ashtabhuja Devi slaying the Mahesasur. On my late visit I could not find this inscription, nor could any one give me any information about it. Luckily I have two copies of it, both taken by hand in 1846. It bore the two dates of Samvat 1566 and Saka 1413, both equivalent to A. D. 1509. It opens with an invocation to *Jina*, thus,—

Aum Swasti Sri Jinayanamah.

There is an old inscription of six lines cut in the scarped rock just outside the Jahângiri Gate, but it is unfortunately too much worn by the weather to be read. This is very much to be regretted, as it is by far the oldest inscription now existing at Kangra, the forms of the letters showing that it cannot be later than the 6th century. It begins with an invocation to Vishnu.

In the city of Kangra, the only place of any antiquity is the small temple of Indreswra, which is said to have been built by Raja Indra Chandra, who, as the contemporary of Ananta of Kashmir, must have lived between A. D. 1028 and 1031. The temple, which is only 9 feet 2 inches square outside, has a porch to the west before the entrance supported on four pillars. The floors of both temple and porch are 2 feet below the level of the paved street, which shows the amount of accumulation that has taken place since the temple was built. Inside the temple there is only a common lingam; but ranged around the porch outside—there are numbers of figures, of which two are certainly old. Both of these figures belong to the Jains. One is a seated male with hands in lap, and a bull on the pedestal, the symbol of Adinâth. Beneath there is an inscription of eight lines which opens with the words *Aum Samvat* 30 *Gachche Raja Kulesuri.*[1] From the forms of the letters, I judge the record to belong to the 10th or 11th century. Its date would therefore be either A. D. 954 or 1054. The only name mentioned is that of *Abhay Chandra*, and as there was a Raja of this name, who preceded Indra Chandra by five reigns, his date would be from 75 to 100 years prior to A. D. 1028 to 1031, or about A. D. 950.

The second Jain figure, a companion statue of the other, is apparently a seated female with hands in lap, and a

[1] See Plate XIII, No. 4

two-armed female in the middle of the pedestal with an elephant on the right.

These Jain figures are fixed in the wall of the porch, but the porch itself is probably a late addition,—its four pillars being all different. At any rate, the two Jain figures can have no connection with the lingam temple. There are no Jains now in Kangra, but formerly there were Digambari Jains as Dewâns under the Delhi Emperors; and there is a Jain inscription at the Baijnâth temple, to be noticed hereafter, which is dated in Samvat 1096, or A. D. 1039, or only 70 years later than the presumed date of the Indreswra Jain statues.

Twenty yards to the south of the Indreswra temple there is an old inscription forming the lowest step of the entrance to the Purohit's house. It is of course nearly obliterated, but enough remains to show that it is engraved in the Kutila character of the 9th or 10th century.

In the suburb of Bhawan, and about half way down the northern slope of the Mâlkera hill, stands the famous temple of Vajreswari *Devi*, more commonly known as *Mátá Devi*. This is the holy shrine that was desecrated by Mahmûd of Ghazni, and restored by the Hindus during the reign of Modûd. It was again desecrated by Muhammad Tughlak, but a few years later it was restored a second time just before the capture of Kot Kangra by his successor Firoz Tughlak, who would appear to have respected the places of worship. A third desecration took place about A. D. 1540, when the fort was captured by Khawâs Khan, the General of Shir Shah. It was again repaired by Rajah Dharma Chandra in the beginning of the reign of Akbar. Of its fate during the long reign of the intolerant Aurangzib the people are ignorant, but there is no reason to suppose that it would have escaped the itching fingers of his iconoclastic governors.

The old stone temple, which is said to have been built by Sansâr Chandra I about A. D. 1440 during the reign of Muhammad Sayid of Delhi, is now entirely concealed under a modern brick building erected by Desa Singh, the Sikh Governor of Kangra. The style is that of a modern dwelling house, with the exception of the bulb-shaped Mughal dome, which was afterwards gilded by Chand Kuär, the wife of Shir Singh. Over the middle of the entrance gate of the courtyard there is a seated figure of Dharma Raja, or

Yama holding a club in his right hand and a noose in his left hand. In the courtyard there are numerous small temples, most of them modern, and all insignificant. Several of them are dedicated to the Ashtabhuja and Dwâdasabhuja Devi, or "eight-armed" and "twelve-armed" goddess, who is represented as slaying the Bhainsâsur or buffalo demon. A single temple, one of the few that I have seen, is dedicated to the goddess *Ana Purna Devi*, who is the same as the Anna Perenna of. the Romans.

Ferishta states that "the people of Nagarkot told Firoz, that the idol which the Hindus worshipped in the temple of Nagarkot was the image of *Noshâba*, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them, which the Brahmans had made at the time that conqueror was in those parts, and placed within their temple, and that now that image was the idol of the people of this country. The name by which it was then known was Jwâla-Mukhi.[1]" In this account Ferishta has confounded two different goddesses, the great *Mâtâ Devi* of Nagarkot, and the *Jwala-Mukhi*, or fiery-mouthed goddess of Jwâla-Mukhi, two places which are upwards of 20 miles apart.[2] Shams-i-Sirâj, who derived his information from his own father who accompanied Firoz, more correctly states that the idol Jwâla-Mukhi, much worshipped by the infidels, was situated *in the road to Nagarkot.*[3]

Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, in Jahângir's reign, states, on the authority of the well known Tom Coryat, who visited the Kangra valley, that in Nagarkot there was "a chapel most richly set forth, being *seeled* and *paved* with plates of pure silver, most curiously imbossed over head in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright." In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called *Jolla Mukee*, where out of *cold springs*, that issue out from amongst hard rocks, are daily to be seen continued eruptions of *fire*, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryat.[4]"

[1] Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, page 329.

[2] It is, however, generally stated that the deity at Bhawan is a headless figure of the goddess. whose head is at Jwâla-Mukhi.

[3] Târikh-i-Firoz Shahi, in Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, page 318.

A voyage to East India by Edward Terry, London, 1665, pp. 27-28.

A somewhat similar description is given by the French traveller Thevenot in A. D. 1666.[1] "There are pagodas of great reputation in *Ayoud*, the one at *Nagarcot* and the other at *Calamac* (Jwâla-Mukhi), but that of Nagarcot far more famous than the other, because of the idol *Matta*, to which it is dedicated; and they say that there are some Gentiles that come not out of that pagod without sacrificing part of their body."

This story about the sacrifice of some part of the body by the pilgrims is also related by Abul Fazl.[2] He says, "*Nagarkot* is a city situated upon a mountain, with a fort called *Kangra*. In the vicinity of this city, upon a lofty mountain, is a place *Mahâma-ey* (read *Mahâ mâya*) which they consider as one of the works of the divinity, and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this, they cut out their tongues, which grow again in the course of two or three days and some times in a few hours.* * * According to the Hindu mythology, *Mahâma-ey* was the *wife*, but the learned of this religion understand by this word the *power* of Mahadeva, and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself, and that different parts of her body fell on four places. That the head with some of the limbs alighted on the northern mountains of Kashmir, near Kamraj, and which place is called Sardha. That some other members fell near Bijapur in the Dakhin at a place thence called Taljâ-Bhawâni. That others dropped in the east near Kâmrup, and which place is called Kamcha; and that the rest remained at *Jâlandhar*, on the spot above described."

There are two inscriptions attached to the temple of Bhawan, which the people are unable to read. The older one consists of four lines of large coarse letters, with the date 10007, which is a common way amongst half-educated persons of expressing 1007, which would be equivalent to A. D 950.[3]

The second inscription consists of 24 lines, and is very nearly perfect. The first two lines are in the *Tâkari* character, opening with an invocation to *Jwâla-Mukhi*,—" *Aum*

[1] Travels, Part III, chap. 37, fol. 62.

[2] Gladwin's Ain-Akbari, II, 109.

[3] A similar mistake occurs in the date of a short inscription on one of the pillars of the Baijnath temple, which is recorded as S. 10221 instead of S. 1221, or A. D. 1164.

Swasti; aum namo Jwála-Mukhi." The remaining 22 lines are in Nâgari. The record was made in the time of "Raja Sansâra Chandra I, the son of Karmma Chandra, and grandson of Megha Chandra, during the reign of Srimat Sâhi Mahammad," that is, Muhammad Sayid, Emperor of Delhi, from A. D. 1433 to 1446. This date accords exactly with the position of Sansâra in the list of Rajas. He is the 4th after Rupa, the contemporary of Firoz Tughlak, in A. D. 1360, and the 6th before Dharma, the contemporary of Akbar in A. D. 1560.

The people of Kangra have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of their fort, which they firmly believe to have baffled the power of the greatest kings. Thus Akbar is said to have besieged Kot Kangra for *ten* years, during which time he made the garden called Râm Bagh, and remained to eat the fruit of the mango trees which he had planted. I first heard this story in 1846 and again in 1873; but in 1783, when Forster was in the Kangra country, the resistance offered by Kangra to the great Akbar who commanded the expedition in person, was then said to be only one year.[1]

According to the universal traditions of the people, Akbar was told that Kangra was famous for four things:—

1.—Manufacture of new noses.
2.—Treatment of eye complaints.
3.—Bânsmati rice.
4.—Its strong fort.

I could learn nothing about the treatment of the eyes; but the repair of noses still goes on, although the numbers requiring this operation have greatly fallen off since the close of the Sikh rule, when amputation of the nose was a common punishment. But people still come from Kabul and Nepâl to be treated. Noses lost by disease are said to defy restoration, but if so, the disease cannot have been cured.

In the Kangra practice of nasotomy, the flesh for the new nose is obtained by cutting a piece from the forehead of the patient. This is sewn over the vacant spot, and supported by rolls of cotton with quills inserted for breathing. Thornton refers to this practice as an example of what Butler calls "Supplemented snout."[2] But this is a mistake, as the author of Hudibras describes the supposed results of the

[1] Journey from Bengal to England, I, 241.
[2] Gazetteer of Simla, Afghanistan and Panjâb in v. Kot Kangra.

famous Taliacotian operation, in which the required flesh was taken from some other healthy person, and *not from the patient*. But the drawback to this operation was the immediate decay of the nose on the death of the person from whom the flesh had been taken. In Butler's words they—

> Would last as long as parent breech,
> But when the date of Nock was out
> Off dropped the supplemental snout.

It seems strange that there is no mention of this practice by Abul Fazl, although perhaps it may not have come into use until late in Akbar's reign after the Ain-Akbari had been completed. According to my information, it was already in existence when Akbar first visited Kangra; but Vigne was told that it was first originated during the reign of Akbar, who was surprised to see a criminal whose nose had been cut off by his order appear with a new nose. The nose had been made by one of his own surgeons named Buddin, to whom the Emperor gave a jaghir in the Kangra district as a reward for his skill.[1]

JWALA-MUKHI.

The famous temple of *Jwâla-Mukhi* or the "flaming mouth" is built over a fissure at the base of a high range of hills, about 20 miles to the south-east of Kangra, from which an inflammable gas has continued to issue from time immemorial. The earliest notice of the place by name is by Shams-i-Sirâj in his account of Firoz Shah's expedition against Kangra.[2] The place is described by Abul Fazl, but without giving the name.[3] The first actual account is that of Tom Coryat, as told by him to Chaplain Terry in the reign of Jahângir: "In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called *Jallamakee* (Jwâla-Mukhi), where out of *cold springs* that issue out from amongst *hard rocks*, are daily to be seen continued eruptions of *fire* before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryat.[4]"

Early in the reign of Aurangzib Jwâla-Mukhi is thus described by Thevenot:[5] "The devotion which the Gentiles

[1] Vigne's Kashmir, I, 140.
[2] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 318.
[3] Gladwin's Ain-Akbari, II, 110.
[4] Voyage to East India, London, 1655, page 87.
[5] Travels, Part III, chapter 37, fol. 62.

make show of at the pagod of *Calamac* proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle, that the water of the town, which is *very cold*, springs out of a *rock* of *Calamac*, is of the mountain of *Balagnate* (*Balaghat*), and the Brahmans who govern the pagod make great profit of it."

I have given these two descriptions of the English and French travellers in detail for the purpose of comparing them with an account of the journey of a Chinese envoy who was deputed by the emperor in A. D. 650 to travel through India in search of "the philosopher's stone and the drug of immortality." The account of his journey is very brief, but also very curious: "He travelled over all the kingdoms of the *Po-lo-man* (Brahmans) in the country called the 'waters of *Pan-cha-fa*' (Panjâb), which come from the midst of calcareous rocks, where are elephants and men of stone to guard them. The waters are of seven different species,—one is hot, another very cold."[1]

On comparing this account of the hot and cold waters springing from the rocks with the cold springs and burning flames of the descriptions of Coryat and Thevenot, I think that the Chinese envoy must have heard the popular account of Jwâla-Mukhi, which looks upon the issue of cold springs and burning flames from the same rock as a miracle. The Chinese writer naively adds that "the drug of immortality could not be found or verified by this envoy," and he was recalled. If my suggestion be correct, the flame of Jwâla-Mukhi must have been in existence as early as A. D. 650.

The present temple of Jwâla-Mukhi is built against the side of the ravine, just over the cleft from which the gas escapes. It is plain outside in the modern Muhammadan style of plaster and paint, with a gilt dome and gilt pinnacles. The roof is also gilt inside, but the gilding is obscured by smoke. By far the finest part of the building is the splendid folding door of silver plates, which was presented by Kharak Singh, and which so struck Lord Hardinge that he had a model made of it.

The interior of the temple consists of a square pit about 3 feet deep with a pathway all round. In the middle the rock is slightly hollowed out about the principal fissure, and on applying a light the gas burst into a flame. The gas escapes

[1] Chinese account of India in Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 70, and Journal Asiatique, 1839, p. 402. The French translator omits the elephants.

at several other points from the crevices of the walls on the sides of the pit. But the gas collects very slowly, and the attendant Brahmans, when pilgrims are numerous, keep up the flames by feeding them with ghi. There is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess, whose headless body is said to be in the temple of Bhawan.

There are several crevices in other parts of the rock outside the temple from which gas escapes; and to these I think that Abul Fazl refers in the following description: "Near this place appear on the sides of the mountain *lights resembling links* and *lamps*, which people go to visit, and throw different things into the flames, thinking the ceremony to be beneficial to the eye sight. Over those places are erected temples, which are continually thronged with people. Certainly these lights which the vulgar consider as miraculous, are only the natural effects of a brimstone mine."

It appears that Firoz Tughlak paid a visit to the temple on his way to Kangra. He was no doubt prompted simply by natural curiosity to see the *flame* of Jwâla-Mukhi. But the visit gave rise to a rumour that the emperor had gone to see the *idol*, which would seem to have been circulated by the Hindus, but which was vehemently denied by the Musalmâns. Shams-i-Sirâj's account of this visit is as follows: "Some of the infidels have reported that Sultân Firoz went specially to *see this idol, and held a golden umbrella over its head.* But the author was informed by his respected father, who was in the Sultân's retinue, that the infidels slandered the Sultân, who was a religious God-fearing man,—who, during the whole forty years of his reign, paid strict obedience to the law, and that such an action was impossible. The fact is, that *when he went to see the idol*, all the Râis, *Rânas*, and *Zamindars* who accompanied him were summoned into his presence, when he addressed them, saying,—'O fools and weak-minded, how can ye pray to worship *this stone*, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose the decrees of our religion will go to hell.' The Sultân held the idol in the deepest detestation, but the infidels, in the blindness of their delusion, have made this false statement against him.[1]"

But some zealous Muhammadans, in their anxiety to relieve Firoz from this "false statement of the infidels." have

[1] Dowson's Edition of Sir H. Elliot, III, 318.

rushed into the other extreme, and have not hesitated to say that "Firoz on this occasion broke the idols of Nagarkot, and, mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmans, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said also that he sent the image of Noshaba to Mecca, to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims.[1]"

This accusation against the Hindus is fully borne out by the mendacious statements of Mânik Chand regarding Firoz Shah's visit to the temple of Jâlpa Devi. It is true that his Dharm-Chand-Nâtak was written just two centuries after the submission of his ancestor Rûp Chand to Firoz; but the detailed account which he gives of the Emperor's proceedings must have been derived either from the traditions of the story which had been handed down, or more probably from some written account which he would appear to have adopted bodily, as the whole of the verses regarding Firoz Shah have not the least connection with the rest of the poem. The story, as told by the Hindu bard, is worth being quoted as a glaring example of the childish and mendacious absurdities which are invented by Brahmaṇs in support of their religion.

The Hindu bard introduces his story of Firoz at the 43rd verse. After detailing the marriages which might be made between the sons and daughters of the different hill chieftains, with a proper regard to their dignity, he suddenly exclaims, "this marriage should not be made, even should Firoz Shah attack (Nagarkot)."

Piroj Shah tokar charho, to mat diyo bahai—

That is, a daughter of Kangra should not be given to the Pathâniya Raja (of Pathânkot and Nurpur), because that chief intended to give a daughter to the king of Delhi, and should a son be born of that marriage, then both Chamba and Nagarkot would fall into the hands of the Pathâniya Chief.

Having thus denounced an alliance with Pathânkot, even at the risk of incurring an attack by Firoz Shah, the bard plunges at once into the description of Firoz's appearance at Kangra.

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[1] Briggs's Ferishta, I, 454.

V. 44.—*Prathame dinê Piroj-pá bhulo phirê udde*
Nagar Bardhat Jálpá dino táhi nivás.

"On the first day Firoz wandered about desponding till Jâlpâ gave him an abode in the town of Bairât."

Jâlpâ is the goddess of Jwâla-Mukhi, who is worshipped also at Bhawan in Kangra under the form of Vajreswari Devi, whose temple is also popularly known as Bairât or Bairâtthân.

The poet then goes on to describe Firoz Shâh's proceedings as follows :—

V. 45.—*Bhikh mángke nagar men rahe Bardhat-thân*
Bhavan pradakshin bin bina kare pyâse karena pân.

'He remained at the temple of Bairât begging his food, and until he had made the circuit of Bhavan (temple), he would not drink, however thirsty he might be."

V. 46.—*Prât nisa kar jor-ke, ambâ ambâ mai,*
Rak nichha jai Chhatrpat karo mohi par sah.

"Every night he repeated, O Ambâ, Ambâ, mother! Grant, O supreme ruler that I may become a king"!

V. 47.—*Bir Paksh Jogi rahê Bir-bhadr kê thân*
Dhúni lakri sisdhar bhakti kare din rât.

"Then Bir Paksh Jogi lived near Bir-bhadr's temple, and he (Firoz) brought wood for his *dhuni* (fire alter) and served him day and night."

V. 48.—*Tapasa ke bas sabbhayo Devi, Deva, Ganes,*
Sidh, sâdh, tapasa kare, dhar-dhar, nâna bhes.

"Then Siva, Devi, and Ganes were subdued by this austerity (*tapasa*) like that of Siddhs and Sâdhs, who do penance naked."

V. 49.—*Sât divas barsha bhai ag na jari jay,*
Ag jaray Piroj-pâ dhuni de jagay.

"During seven days' rain it was difficult to kindle a fire, but Firoz kept up the *dhuni* (fire alter) of Bir Paksh."

V. 50.—*Bir Paksh topi dai dhari ju sis Peroj*
Tahi din tubi Jwálpá Dilli dini tahi.

"Then Bir Paksh placed a cap on the head of Firoz, and the gratified Jwâlpâ gave him (the throne of) Delhi."

V. 51.—*Bir Paksh Amba nachan Dilli dini tahi*
So abhi darsan kar jaktain bhojog Padsahi.

"So Bir Paksh, by direction of Ambâ, gave him Delhi, and by paying devotion to her he became a king."

V. 52.—*Dino dan saman bhûmi Saheb sah Piroj*
Jo mangé soi milê Dilli dini tahi.

"Then the King Firoz made gifts of land; whatever was asked he gave, because he had got Delhi."

V. 53.—*So Piroj Dilliswar bhayo, gayo Jâlpa thân*
Birbhadr darson kare diyo bhoj ki dân.

"Then Firoz, the lord of Delhi, went to Jwâlpâ's shrine, and worshipping Birbhadr, made a great feast."

V. 54.—*Snân Saraswati Kund, Kus, til, jao le hâth*
Sis Samarpyo Jwâlpâ pathen joi gâth.

"Having bathed in the Saraswati Kund, and taking *Kusa* grass, linseed, and barley in his hand, he prostrated himself before Jwâlpâ with joined hands."

V. 55.—*Pardakshina pranâm kari pindi parsi jay*
Sahasr Mahes, aj, bal, diyo naubat dwâr bajay.

"Then having made the circuit of the *pindi* (or lingam stone) he gave for sacrifice one thousand buffaloes and male goats, and ordered the *naubat* to be played."

V. 56.—*Panchâmrit asnân kar bahut sugandh chathay*
Janam janam ko Jwâlpâ moko kohu sahay.

"He poured the fragrant *panchámrit*[1] (over the image) and prayed to Jwâlpâ to be favorable to him in each succeeding birth."

V. 57 —*Gandhâkshat pûshpan jâli mukta akshat kin*
Hempushp barsha kari Sah Piroj pratin.

"Firoz then presented fragrant rice and flowers, with water, and pearls, and showered Asoka flowers (over the pindi)."

V. 58.—*Har-mudraka our sim-jar diyor teg*
Patranoani, aswa, gaj, go, hiranyapatideg.

"Then performing *Har-mudra*[2] he presented silver and gold-worked swords, with numbers of plates, horses, elephants, cows, and golden chased vessels."

V. 59.—*Sis samarpyo Jwâlpâ phir pradakshina kin*
Paramtatwa man rat bhayo deye darsan kin.

"And having again bowed down and perambulated Jwâlpâ, he attained through his devotion the sublime state of *paramtatwa*."[3]

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[1] *Panchâmrita*, or the "five nectarious substances," namely, honey, milk, ghi, curd, and Ganges water.
[2] *Hara* + *mudra*, a peculiar position of the hands in saluting Hara or Siva.
[3] *Paramtatwa* or the supreme spirit.

V. 60.—*Kar-prandm Sri Jwálpá Bhavan parikram din*
Khat-ras kar maidán de jagmen kirat lin.

"And having again perambulated the temple of Jwâlpâ at Bhavan, he gained renown by giving the feast of *Khat-ras*[1] to the people."

Here ends the story of Firoz's visit to the temple of Jwâlpâ, which is so indignantly denied by the Muhammadan chronicler. I think it highly probable that Firoz actually visited the temple of Jwâla-Mukhi out of curiosity to see the "flaming mouth," and that the Hindus adroitly took advantage of it by attributing his success against Kangra to the favour of the goddess Jwâlpâ, who had been propitiated by his visit. But it is quite inconceivable that any Muhammadan king in the height of his power, and in the very presence of his followers, would have been so insane as to prostrate himself before the *pindi*, or to go through any one of the puerile mummeries which are so unctuously dwelt upon by the Hindu bard. I fully believe in the visit; but I utterly repudiate all the rest except the main fact of the story, the submission of the Raja and the surrender of Nagarkot.

KANHIARA.

Twelve miles to the north of Kangra is the large village of Kanhiâra, with its well known slate quarries, which have been worked much more extensively under British rule than formerly, owing to the greater demand for durable roofing. To the west of the village, amongst a crowd of huge boulders, there are two massive blocks of granite, inscribed with very large characters more than a foot in height, one on the face, and the other on the top. Both inscriptions were first discovered by Mr. E. C. Bayley, who published an account of them with a translation in 1854,[2] from which I take the following extracts: "They are situated in a field about half way beween the village itself and the station of Dharmsâla, on the edge of the high bank of a mountain torrent. They are so clearly cut that there can be little doubt as to the reading of either, one being simply—

Krishna-yasasa árâma, in Arian Pali; the other,—

Krishna-yasasya árâma medangisya (in Indian Pali).

[1] *Khat* + *ras*, "the six flavours," consisting of *sugar*, *milk*, *ghi*, *curd*, *salt*, and *oil*.
[2] Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, XXIII, 57.

"The purport of both inscriptions is therefore identical, 'the garden of Krishnayasas.' to which in the second inscription some wag has apparently added the epithet *medangisya*, 'corpulent,' from *med*, fat, and *anga*, 'a body.'

Mr. Bayley also assigned the date of the inscription to the first century A. D., which I then thought rather too early on account of the use of foot-strokes to the Arian letters. But since then I have found that these foot-strokes were of common use in the beginning of the first century A. D., and were occasionally used in the middle of the first century B. C. A more extended acquaintance with Indian inscriptions has also shown me that the form of the attached *y* in *yasasya* is certainly not later than the beginning of the first century A. D.[1] I am inclined therefore to assign the inscription to the end of the first century B. C. during the flourishing reign of the Indo-Scythian Kanishka.

I think also that the name of *Arâma* refers to a Buddhist monastery, as one of the commonest meanings of the word. I therefore translate the Arian Pali inscription simply as the "monastery of Krishna-yasas," and I look upon it as the true original of the modern name of the village, *Kanhiâra*. Both *Kanhiya* and *Kânh* are synonimes of *Krishna*, for which we find them substituted in the modern name of the famous *Kânhari* hill in the island of Salsette, which in the inscriptions is called *Krishnagiri*. *Kânhari* is therefore only an abbreviation of *Kânhagiri*, and by the same process I believe that *Kanhiâra* has been obtained from *Kânhiya-yasasârâma*, by simply dropping the middle word. I made diligent enquiries, as well as extensive search, for any remains of antiquity; but both were fruitless. I obtained, however, four Indo-Scythian coins in good preservation, two of Wema Kadphises, one of Kanerke, and one of Bazo Deo, all of which had been found in the village lands; from which I conclude that the village of Kanhiâra was certainly occupied during the period of the Indo-Scythian rule.

The additional word in the Indian Pali version I read preferably as *mâdangisya*, as the vowel stroke attached to *m* is turned to the right. *Mâdangi* may perhaps have been the

[1] See Plate XLII, Figs. 1 and 2, for these inscriptions.

name of the district or possibly of the recorder of the inscription. The last two characters are monograms of the two auspicious words *aum* and *swasti*, which are so frequently attached to Indian inscriptions. Perhaps the most curious feature about these two boulder records is the fact that the Arian version is expressed in Pali, and the Indian version in Sanskrit.

The name of the spot or land on which these inscribed rocks are found is *Ghar-kûrpar*, of which no one knows the meaning.

CHARI.

The small village of *Chári* is situated eight miles to the east of Kangra, and just one mile to the north-east of Nagarota in one of the richest parts of the Kangra district. In 1854, when stones were being collected for a bridge over the Baner River, the foundations of a temple were discovered by Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C. S., together with an inscribed stone. A copy of the inscription was kindly sent to me by the discoverer, from whose letter I take the following account of the place: "The temple is called Lâkhâ-Mandar; it was evidently a building of much importance, as the stones are fastened together with iron clamps. Some of them are of large size, one being 9 feet long, 2¼ feet broad, and 1½ foot thick. They are all squared stones, most carefully cut. There are some huge bases and capitals of pillars, and several fluted shafts. On one carved stone there is an inscription which I have had carefully copied. The bricks used about the building are very large, such as I have never seen in any other Hindu temples."

The inscription thus found was engraved in characters of the 7th or 8th century and was perfectly legible. It opened with the two auspicious words *aum*, *swasti*; but the rest was simply the well known formula of the Buddhist faith, beginning with *ye dharmma hetu*, *&c.* When I was at Kangra lately, I found this inscription lying outside the circuit house on the top of the Mâlkera Hill. Here it was no doubt deposited for the sake of safety. But a flat block of sandstone offers an irresistible temptation to tool sharpening, and consequently the right half of the inscription has been ruthlessly destroyed. I found, however, that there had originally been one line of letters above the Buddhist formula, of

which only the tails of some letters now remain.[1] I found also that the block of stone was the pedestal of a statue, and that the inscription was on the upper face before the statue. On the front of the stone are carved seven boars, which lead me to conclude, from my experience of the numerous sculptures in Bihâr, that the figure was that of the Tantrika goddess of the later Buddhists, named *Vajra Varâhi*, who is always represented with three heads, of which one is porcine, and with seven boars on the pedestal. This is the only trace of Buddhism that I have seen in the Kangra Valley, although it is clear from the size and style of the temple described by Mr. Forsyth, that the Kangra Buddhists must have been both powerful and wealthy about the 7th or 8th century A. D.

KIRAGRAMA.

The fine temple of *Vaidyanâth* or *Baijnâth* has only become known to us since the British occupation, and its name has now eclipsed that of the village of *Kiragrâma* in which it stands. Some excellent photographs of it have been made by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, but unfortunately all the well-preserved portions of the exterior are quite modern, while most of the old work is hidden under thick masses of plaster. But a very good idea of the style of the exterior may be gathered from that of the smaller temple of Siddhnâth, which is of the same age, and which has luckily escaped the hands of the restorer.

The temple of Baijnâth consists of a *mandapa*, or hall, 19½ feet square inside, and 48 square outside, with four massive pillars for the support of the roof.[2] The entrance is on the west side, and to the east there is the sanctum of the temple, 7½ square, containing a lingam of Siva as *Vaidyanâtha*. Inside the roof is divided into squares and oblongs, which are closed in the usual manner by large flat overlapping slabs. Exteriorly the straight lines of the walls are broken by projections and recesses enriched with pillared niches for statues. The roof of the sanctum was a high truncated pyramid with curved sides, surrounded by the usual pinnacle of an *amalaka* fruit. The roof of the *Mandapa* was a very low straight sided pyramid covered

[1] See Plate XLII, No. 3.
[2] See Plate XLIII for a plan of this temple.

with overlapping slabs, with a small *amalaka* pinnacle at the apex. But the greater part of both of these roofs is a mere mass of plaster.

In A. D. 1786, Raja Sansâra Chandra 11 made some extensive repairs to the Baijnâth temple, and at the same time added the present entrance porch and the two large side balconies. These had previously existed, but had fallen down and disappeared. I think it probable that the porch may be not unlike the original; but I have a very strong suspicion that the restorer did not adhere too strictly to the style of the original side niches, as their mouldings differ very much from those of the old basement of the main body of the building.

In front of the porch there is a small figure of the Bull Nandi, under a canopy supported on four stone pillars. At a short distance further to the west, there is a second figure of Nandi, much larger than the other. The smaller one I take to be the original, which was set up at the dedication of the temple, the larger one I believe to have been added by Sansâr Chandra.

Inside the Mandapa of the temple, in the side spaces between the pillars, low walls are raised so as to form seats for attendant Brahmans.

The smaller temple of *Siddhnâth* is similar in its arrangement both inside and outside to that of Baijnâth. But it faces towards the east, and the side openings of the Mandapa are without pillars, and are closed by stone trellises. It differs also in having two small doorways in the back wall of the Mandapa leading past the outer walls of the sanctum. In the interior the roof is similarly supported on four pillars, and the ceiling is formed in the same way by overlapping slabs. Exteriorly the walls and roofs are ornamented after the manner of the Baijnâth temple, which has already been described. The small pillars of the niches are fluted with 16 sides. In the western niche outside the back of the sanctum, there is a figure of Sûrya with his seven horses on the pedestal. Inside the sanctum there is only a large boulder *lingam*, which does duty as Siddhnâth Mahadeva.

In the left hand wall of the Mandapa, inside this temple, there is an old inscription, 16 by 13 inches, which is too much obliterated by the peeling away of the surface to be legible. Enough, however, remains to show that it belongs

to the same age as the great inscription in the larger temple of Baijnâth, which is fortunately in very good order. The people attribute the erection of these temples to two Baniya brothers named *Baijnáth* and *Siddhnáth*, or, as they are more familiarly called, *Baiju* and *Siddhu*. The name of the village in which the temples are situated is *Kirgraon*, or *Kiragráma*. This name is given in the Siva Purâna, and also in a Jaina inscription on white marble, dated in S. 1296, or A. D. 1239, which has most unaccountably found its way into the back niche of the Baijnâth temple.

The great inscription of the Baijnâth temple is on two slabs, one let into the south wall, and the other into the north wall, both inside. The former slab has 34 lines, and the latter 33 lines. I copied both in 1846, and in 1849 my friend Bâbu Siva Prasâd made an abstract translation of the principal portion, for the Simla Akhbar, which he then edited. From his abstract I take the following account of the building of the temple :—

On each side of the door there is a stone slab with an inscription. The upper half of the one inscription is occupied with the praises of Siva and Gauri. The lower half contains the names of the headman of the district and of the builder, with the date in the hill cycle of Samvat 80. This date is recorded in the following manner :—[1]

*Samvatsarasititame prasiddhe jyesthasya sukle prati patithaicha Lakshana Chandra * * * dwija kritoyam swasti aum namah Sivâyah.*

A Bânika or Baniya named Siddha had two sons, *Manyuk* and *Ahuk*, of whom the latter and his wife *Gulhá* were the builders of the temple. A Brahman of Sardapur named *Ralhana* gave two *dronas* of *dhânya* in Navagrâma, and Ganeswar, the son of Govind Brahman of Navagrâma, gave four ploughs of land for the support of the temple.

The second slab opens with praises of Mahâdeva, after which comes the name of the reigning king *Jaya Chandra* of *Jâlandhara*, expressed as follows :—

Jâlandharâdhirâjo jayati gunânán
*Jaya Chandra * * * yasya rajai devayatânani jâtâni.*

Next follows one *sloka* in praise of Manyuk and Ahuk, and then two *slokas* in praise of their wives ; after which there are no less than twelve slokas occupied with the praises of

[1] See Plate XLII, No. 5.

Lakshmana Chandra, from which I extract the following genealogy with their probable dates :—

A. D. 625.—Atr Chandra,
650.—Vigraha Chandra,
675.—Brahma Chandra,
700.—Kalhana Chandra,
725.—Vilhana Chandra,
750.—Hridaya Chandra,
775.—(Daughter) Lakshani has two sons,
800.—Râma Chandra and Lakshmana Chandra,

the latter of whom was the endower of the temple. From the family name of Chandra, I infer that Lakshana or Lakshmana belonged to a younger branch of the royal descendants of Susarma Chandra, of whom Jaya Chandra, Raja of Jâlandhar, was then the head. According to this genealogy, *Atr Chandra* must have been the contemporary of *U-ti-to*, or *Udita*, Raja of Jâlandhar, who was deputed by Harsha Vardhana to escort the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang from Prayâg to the Panjâb. As the name of Atr Chand is the first in this local line, I think it most probable that he was the Raja from whom this branch of the family traced its descent. In this case he would be identical with Hwen-Thsang's *Udita*, and the *Adama* or *Adima* of the genealogical lists.

On seeing the temple Lakshmana Chandra gave a grant of money for its support. This second inscription ends with the words *Sakakâla gatâvdah* 726—that is, "Sâkakâl years elapsed 726," equivalent to A. D. 804, which is therefore the date of the temple.[1] This date also corresponds with the year 80 of the local cycle, which is the *Lok-kâl* of Kashmir, or cycle of 2,700 years, counted by centuries named after the 27 *nakshatras* or lunar mansions. The reckoning, therefore, never goes beyond 100 years, and as each century begins in the 25th year of the Christian century, the 80th year of the local cycle is equivalent to the 4th year of the Christian century. In the present instance this is A. D. 804, as we learn from the Saka date at the end of the inscription.

On one of the pillars of the temple there is the following record of a pilgrim :—

Sam 10221 *Vaisâkh pra* : 27.

"In the Samvat year 1221 (A. D. 1164) on the 27th of Vaisâkh"—This is followed by the name of the writer, which I cannot read satisfactorily, as the letters are large cursive *Tâkari*.

[1] See Plate XLII, No. 6.

On a second pillar there is a similar record in small Tâkari characters, which is dated in the year 74 of the hill cycle, equivalent to 98 of some Christian century; probably 1198 or 1298 A. D.

Two other records in Tâkari letters which are more carefully engraved, are easily legible, although they are unfortunately without dates; one of them reads—

Sri Thakura Pramâra Karama Sinhaputra.

"The fortunate Thakur Pramâra, son of Karma Sinha."

The other reads—

Sri Thakur Kana Chandra putra Bana Vira * *

"The fortunate Thakur Kana Chandra, son of Bana Vira"— The *r* of Thakur is omitted in the original.

There are four similar inscriptions on the pillars of the temple of Siddhnâth; one of them consists of seven lines opening with the date in the hill cycle as follows:—

Sam 74, *Sra. pra.* 4—that is, "in the Samvat year 74 on the 4th day of Srâvana." The letters of this record seem clear enough; but the cursive Tâkari is difficult to read, and the Brahmans of the place were quite unable to assist me in deciphering it. I can read the word *likhite* "written" in the 6th line and the name of *Pramâra* in the 3rd line.

A second inscription of one line reads thus—

Samvat 74 *Chhe pra* 7 *Siddhi.*

"In the Samvat year 74 on the 7th day of Chitra." The last word *Siddhi* perhaps refers to the name of the god to whom the shrine was dedicated, as the temple itself is now called *Siddhnâth.*

A third record of six Nâgari letters gives the name of *Spechetaru Jogi.*

A fourth record gives simply the date of *Samvat* 74, followed by two illegible letters.

The repairs and additions to the temple of Baijnâth were made by Raja Sansâra Chandra II in A. D. 1786, as noted on a small inscribed slab let into the pavement of the courtyard of the temple leading towards the ghât on the Nigwal River. This record is as follows:—

Samvat 1843, *Jeth pravishte* 15 *Sri Raja Sansâr Chand Prohit Ganga Râmke hukam mâphak Batehare Jite ne ghari.*

"In the Sâmvat year 1843 (A. D. 1786) on the 15th day of Jyesth, during the reign of the fortunate Raja Sansâr

Chand, according to the order of the family priest Ganga Ram, the mason Jite engraved (this writing)."

I have reserved the Jaina inscription, which is carved on the base of a figure standing in the back niche of the temple to the last, as it certainly cannot have any connection with the history of the temple itself. The record consists of two lines of neatly executed Nâgari letters in excellent preservation. It reads as follows:—

1.—*Aum. Samvat* 1296 *varshe Phâlguna badi* 5 *Ravo. Kiragrâme Brahma Dolhana Alhanabhyam Sukarita Sri man Mahâvira Deva Chaityem.*

2.—*Sri Mahâvira Jina Mula vini-atma Srenyar* × *Karitam*|| *Madrapalliya Sri Mad Abhaya Sevachari Sikhyih Sri Seva Rudra Suritih.*

Here we have the most unequivocal record of the dedication of a Jaina building (*Chaitya*) recorded on the base of a statue of Mahâvira, which the Brahmans have set up in the great niche at the back of the temple of Baijnâth.

ASAPURI.

Twelve miles to the south-west of Baijnâth, there is a lofty hill crowned with a temple dedicated to Asapuri Devi. It was built according to an inscription by *Vijaya Râma*, the eldest son of Raja *Chandrabhâna*. The record is simple and short:—

Sri Asapuri
Sahai Kama Sri Bije Râm-
damandar Rajaputra Narena

"Nârâyan, the Raja's son, (offers adoration) to the auspicious Asapuri Devi, the helper, in the temple of Vijaya Râma." *Nârâyan* must have been a younger son of Raja Vijaya Râma, as his successor was Bhima Chandra.

A second inscription recorded an a slab, which is said to be the Sati Pillar of Raja Vijaya Râma's widows, gives the date of Samvat 1744 or A. D. 1687. It is as follows:—

Samvat 1744
*Mâgh pravishta**
Chandravansi Rajedâ
Chandrabhâne da putra Vi-
Je Râme dâ.

"In the Samvat year 1744, on the * day of Mâgh, (in the temple) of Vije Râm, the son of the Chandravansi Raja Chandrabhân."

A third inscription is of a rather earlier date, S. 1721 or A. D. 1664—

Aum Samvat 1721, *din 1.*
Bhadr pra. 1 *likhita Kanungo*
Kansi—Deviya, tatha Musadi
Gopál—Sri Asapuri
De Siyok dás ghirth

"To the Triad.—In the Samvat year 1721 on the first day of Bhadrpad, 1st, the writing of the Kanungo Kansi—Deviya, (and) of the Mutsadi Gopál, to the auspicious goddess Asapuri De (vi). By Sewak Dás Kahár (or bearer caste)."

A fourth inscription is without date :—

Aum Sri Devi agá
Sri Vidhu patha
Kardá Sadá Sukhi.

"To the Triad—Before the auspicious goddess, the fortunate Vidhu read religious books ever pleased."

A. CUNNINGHAM, *Major-General,*
Director General, Archæological Survey of India.

SIMLA,
28*th October* 1873.

APPENDIX A.

ANCIENT INDIAN ARCHITECTURE—INDO-PERSIAN AND INDO-GRECIAN-STYLES.

In the numerous ancient ruins of the Yusufzai country two very distinct styles of architecture may be traced, which, judging from their leading features, must certainly have been derived from the widely different styles of Persia and Greece. These I propose to call the *Indo-Persian* and *Indo-Grecian* styles of Indian architecture. The former would appear once to have spread over the whole of Northern India from Kâbul to the banks of the Ganges, while the latter is found only to the west, in the districts of Peshâwar, Râwal-Pindi, and Kashmir, which formed the ancient provinces of Peukelaotis and Taxila. I look upon the former therefore as an older style, which had once prevailed over the whole of the Kâbul Valley and Western Panjâb, previous to the occupation of those districts by the Greeks. This deduction is in strict accordance with the early history of the Indus Valley, which, as we learn from Herodotus, as well as from the cuneiform inscriptions, had originally formed one of the twenty satrapies of the ancient Persian Empire under Darius Hystaspes.

The name of *Indo-Persian* is the more appropriate for this style, as it was most extensively used over the whole of Northern India for several centuries. I would accordingly assign its introduction to the period of Persian supremacy in the valley of the Indus from B. C. 500 to 330. It is true that the most ancient of the existing specimens of this style, at Bharhut and Bodh Gaya, cannot be dated earlier than the time of Asoka, or about B. C. 250; while the latter specimens, at Mathura and Sânchi, belong to the time of the Indo-Scythians of Northern India and the Andhra kings of Western India, from B. C. 50 to A. D. 100. But as none of the Indo-Grecian examples can be placed before the beginning of the first century B. C., I think that the joint evidence of the earlier occupation of the country by the Persians and of the earlier occurrence of examples of the styles, is sufficient to establish the priority of the Indo-Persian to the Indo-Grecian. The introduction of the former may therefore be ascribed to the Achæmenides of Persia, and that of the latter to the successors of Alexander the Great.

INDO-PERSIAN STYLE.

The prototype of the Indo-Persian style may be seen in the well-known pillars of Persepolis and Susa. The chief characteristics of the Persian pillars are a bell-shaped lower capital surmounted by an upper member formed of recumbent animals, back to back.* Both of these

* See Plate XLVI, figs. 1 and 2.

peculiar features are preserved in the fine Indian specimens at Bharhut, Mathura, and Sânchi, while the bell capital alone now remains on the two grand columns near Kâbul.* But the general prevalence of the style is perhaps best shown by the numerous examples of similar pillars which are represented in the basreliefs of Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Sânchi and Yusufzai. I have found also several small pillars, only 16 inches in height, of the same style at Bharhut, where they were placed somewhat after the fashion of balusters between the horizontal beams of the gateways.

In Kâbul and the Panjâb the Persian style would appear to have been in a great measure superseded by the three well-known orders of Grecian architecture; in Gandhâra by the Corinthian, in Taxila by the Ionic, and in Kashmir by the Doric, in which countries they would seem to have flourished for several centuries. In India, where the supply of wood was abundant, the pure Greek style seems never to have taken root, and the builders of Mathura, Ujain, and Pâtaliputra adhered to the tall pillars, the bell capitals, and recumbent animal brackets of their Persian prototypes. But the finished beauty and the harmonious symmetry of Greek forms were not lost upon the Indian architects. Their influence was early shown in the adoption of the beaded astragalus and the honeysuckle as ornaments of the monoliths of Asoka, and of the gateway pillars and medallion borders of Bharhut. I have a suspicion also that it was owing to their influence that the bell capitals of Asoka's pillars were reduced in height. It is certain at least that the bell portion was gradually increased by the Indo-Scythians and their successors, the Guptas, until at last the Indian architects reached their former style of lofty capitals, as shown in the Kahaon pillar of Skanda Gupta, *circa* A. D. 219, and in the well-known iron pillar at Delhi of about a century later.

The only specimens of the *Indo-Persian* style which yet remain beyond the Indus are the two lofty columns near Kâbul, which are now called the *Surkh Minâr*, and the *Minâr Châkri*, Mr. Fergusson has already pointed out "that their upper members are meant to be copies of the tall capitals of the Persepolitan pillars."†. These pillars were first brought to notice by Masson, who, arguing from their position amongst the topes of the Shewaki group, concluded that they were "clearly of the same age as the topes." Mr. Fergusson also thinks that the pillars are coeval with the topes, an opinion in which I fully agree. But when he goes on to say that they are "probably of the 3rd or 4th century of our era, I dissent from him altogether. He has apparently been led to this conclusion about the age of the pillars by his belief that "their "shape and outline exhibit great degeneracy from the purer forms with "which architecture commenced in India, and which were there retained "to a much later period than in this remote province." Now, the age of this group of topes can be ascertained, within very narrow limits, from their contents, which were extracted by Dr. Honigberger. Only two of the topes yielded any results; but these were a gold coin of

* See Plate XLVI, fig. 3.
† History of Architecture ii, 460.

Wema Kadphises, and an ink inscription in Arian letters on a steatite vase.* As the date of Wema Kadphises is certainly not later than the middle of the 1st century B.C., and as the Arian alphabet had fallen into disuse by the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., the age of this group of topes, and consequently that of the two pillars must range between B.C. 50 and A.D., 100, or about three centuries earlier than Mr. Fergusson's date.

In the accompanying Plate I have given a sketch of the Chakri Minâr of Kâbul, with two examples of pure Persian columns from Persepolis and Susa, for the more ready comparison of the peculiar type of capital which distinguishes this style. In form it may be compared to a bell surmounted by a tulip-shaped bowl, with a hemispherical cover, the whole being capped by a broad-spreading abacus.† The abacus of the Kâbul column has long ago fallen down; but the lower portion still remains intact, and its absolute identity of outline with that of the two examples from Persepolis and Susa, seems to me to point with certainty to Persia as its original source.

The base of the Kâbul column is composed of a series of steps, and has nothing whatever in common with the Persian style; my first impression was, that these steps were only a natural expansion of the plinth, adopted for the purpose of giving greater stability to a heavy pillar. But the Yusufzai and Indian bas-reliefs showed me that the stepped base was one of the most characteristic features of this style of architecture, a conclusion which was made absolutely certain by the discovery at Mathura, *in situ*, of four full-sized bases which had formerly been capped by true Indo-Persian capitals.‡

The only other examples of this style to the west of the Indus are found in the numerous bas-reliefs of the Yusufzai sculptures. Of these sculptured examples, which exist literally in thousands, I have given three different specimens in the accompanying Plate.§ In all of these will be seen the same *bowl-and-bell* capital, which forms the connecting link with the architecture of Persia, joined with the stepped base of the Kâbul Column and Mathura Pillars, which forms one of the peculiar characteristics of this style. Although the mouldings are much exaggerated in these sculptured representations, yet there can be no difficulty in recognising the characteristic *bowl-and-bell* capitals of Persia. Fig. 6 also presents a further agreement with the Persian prototype in the adoption of four recumbent animals for the ornamentation of the upper member of the capital. The age of these sculptures is still a disputed point; but in my opinion they belong to the two centuries between B.C. 50 and A.D. 150, which embraced the most flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule. That they are not of later date than

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* Ariana Antiqua, p. 114.

† See Plate XLV, fig .3, from a sketch by Sir Vincent Eyre. For figs. 1 and 2 of the columns of Persepolis and Susa I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson's History of Architecture.

‡ A sketch of one of these bases is given in Plate XLVI. For a drawing of the capital, which I found on the same spot, see Archæological Survey of India, Vol. iii, Plate 3.

§ See Plate XLV, figs. 4, 5, and 6.

A. D. 150 I infer from the use of Arian letters only as masons' marks, as it would appear from the testimony of both coins and inscriptions that the Arian alphabet fell into disuse shortly after A.D. 100, when it was supplanted by the Indian alphabet.

The earliest examples of the use of the *Indo-Persian* style in India are found at Bharhut, in the gateways and sculptures of the magnificent Buddhist railing which I had the good fortune to discover towards the end of 1873. Each of its four gateways consisted of two clustered columns of four octagonal shafts, surmounted by bell capitals carrying four recumbent animals.* These are humped Indian bulls and fabulous lions with men's and griffins' heads. These pillars have no bases, which was, perhaps, a necessity, as the heavy top weight which they had to carry made it imperative that their shafts should be sunk deeply into the ground. I infer that these early Indian columns usually had bases from the smaller specimens of similar pillars in the Bharhut gateway. These I have called *baluster pillars*, as their height is only sixteen inches, and they were placed in a row between two beams of the gateway, just after the fashion of similar small pillars, in a balustrade.† Each of these Bharhut balusters has a bell-shaped capital surmounted by recumbent animals, but the bowl, with hemispherical cover of the Kâbul and Yusufzai example, is altogether wanting. The stepped base, however, is similar to that of the Kâbul column, and there can be no doubt that these Bharhut and trans-Indus specimens belong to the same class of architecture, which, on account of the peculiar features of the capital, I have ventured to call the *Indo-Persian* style.

The Bharhut specimens are the more valuable from their early date, which is certainly two centuries older than the Yusufzai sculptures, or about 250 to 200 B.C. This was no doubt the prevailing style of the period, as the whole of the pillars represented in the Bharhut sculptures have bell-shaped capitals. That the style was not indigenous to India, but was imported from the countries on the Indus, is rendered almost certain by my curious discovery of the existence of Arian letters on the small baluster pillars of the Bharhut gate-ways. As these characters were never used in Central India, I attribute their occurrence at Bharhut to foreign sculptors, who must have been brought from the North-West by the Rajah of Srughna for the special purpose of erecting the four ornamental gateways of the great Stûpa.

Similar specimens of the Indo-Persian style may be seen in the sculptures of the Buddha Gaya railings, which, on the evidence of their inscriptions, may be assigned to the third century B.C. The Mathura pillars belong to a much later date, during the flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule under Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva, or from B.C. 50 to A.D. 50. The same style was used by the Andhra kings of Western India, as shown in the sculptures of the Sânchi Stûpa near Bhilsa, of which a specimen is given in the accompanying Plate.‡ The

* See Plate XLVI for one of these capitals.
† See Plate XLVI for a specimen of these small pillars.
‡ See Plate XLVI.

date of these sculptures I would assign to the end of the first century A.D., as one of the gateways was erected by Ananda son of Vasishtha, during the reign of Raja Sâtakarni, whom I would identify with Gotamiputra Sâtakarni, because his successor was Pudumavi, also a son of Vasishtha, and consequently a brother of Ananda.

Still later specimens of the same style, but much changed, may be seen at Eran in the monolith of Buddha Gupta, and in the pillars of the Narsinh temple. In these examples the abacus or slab beneath the recumbent figures is of the same height as the animals themselves. The bell capital still preserves its true form in the Eran monolith; but it is altogether lost in the neighbouring mónolith of Pathâri, where it has been changed to a gigantic ribbed fruit. The Buddha Gupta column is dated in the year 165, which I would refer to the Saka era, thus fixing the latest known specimen of the Indo-Persian style to A.D. 242, in the very middle of the third century.

INDO-GRECIAN STYLE.

As all the existing specimens of *Indo-Grecian* architecture which I have seen are limited to the provinces on the banks of the Indus, I infer that its use was confined to those districts, where it would appear to have completely superseded the *Indo-Persian* style of earlier days. There can, however, be no doubt that the ornamentation of the Indian architecture was much influenced by the beauty of many of the Greek forms, as we find both the honey-suckle and the beaded astragalus on the capitals of Asoka's pillars at Sankisa and Allahabad, while the latter alone is found both at Bharhut and at Mathura.

As the different styles of Greek architecture must certainly have been introduced into the Kâbul Valley and the districts lying along the Indus as early as B.C. 200, it is a source of much disappointment to me that no specimen of *Indo-Grecian* architecture has yet been discovered to which I can assign an earlier date than about 80 B.C. It is quite possible that the first sweep of the Indo-Scythian inundation may have been as fatal to the temples of the Greeks as was that of the Muhammadan deluge tō the temples of the Hindus. This would account for the total disappearance of pure Greek architecture; while the subsequent conversion of the Indo-Scythians to Buddhism, and the consequent erection of Buddhist Vihars may be more than sufficient to account for the numerous remains of semi-Greek, or Indo-Grecian architecture, on the banks of the Indus, most of which, at least so far as I can judge, must belong to the two flourishing centuries of Indo-Scythian rule, or from B. C. 50 to A.D. 150.

The Indians would appear to have adopted each of the three great styles of Grecian architecture, the Ionic, the Corinthian, and the Doric, of which the first prevailed in Taxila, the second in Gandhara, and the last in Kashmir. Of all these the earliest that I am aware of is the unique specimen of an Indo-Ionic temple, which has been already described in the present volume.* A very brief notice will therefore be sufficient in this place.

* See ante pp. 69 to 72, and Plates XVII and XVIII.

INDO-IONIC STYLE.

The only building in which any remains of the Indian Ionic style have been found is a Buddhist Vihar at Shah-dheri, which place I have identified with the ancient Taxila. In the portico of this temple there were four massive sandstone columns of the Ionic order, forming a square; and in the inner room, which was 79 feet long and 23½ feet wide, there was probably a row of similar, but smaller, pillars running down the middle for the support of the roof. These last were made of *kankar* blocks. Of the larger pillars the bases only remained, of which two are now carefully preserved in the Lahore Museum. Their mouldings correspond very exactly with those of the pure Attic base, as used in the Erechtheium at Athens. The shafts are circular and plain. The capitals have the peculiar volutes of the Greek Ionic order, presenting the same baluster shape on the two sides. But the abacus is heavier, and altogether this unique specimen of Indian Ionic is of a very primitive and rather rude type. It seems probable that the shafts were originally plastered, and their capitals gilded, as gold leaf was found in several places.

During my exploration of this temple I found twelve large copper coins of Azas, deposited carefully together, under the corner of one of the statue platforms. As the place of discovery was below the level of the floor, and as the coins adhered pretty firmly together, I have little doubt that this was an original deposit of the time when the statue platform was in course of building. I conclude therefore that the temple is certainly as old as the time of Azas, or about 80 B.C., as some of the coins belong to the latter part of his reign. As I was able to recognise every one of the twelve coins, I look upon this discovery as a most trustworthy evidence of the age of the temple.

INDO-CORINTHIAN STYLE.

The Corinthian order is found in all the Buddhist ruins in Gandhâra to the West of the Indus, and in Mânikyâla to the East. All the large capitals hitherto found in Peshâwar and Yusufzai belong exclusively to the Corinthian order. Not even a single fragment of the well-known Indian Doric of Kashmir, or of the Taxilan Ionic, has yet been met with, nor is there any trace of either of these styles in the sculpture. Perhaps the hard, but easily worked, slate of the Gandhâra quarries, which readily lends itself to the execution of the most delicate and elaborate carvings, may first have suggested the rich foliage of the Corinthian order, which was afterwards universally adopted for the Buddhist buildings to the west of the Indus.

The general features of the Indo-Corinthian columns will be more clearly understood from an examination of the accompanying illustrations than from any description.* The similarity of the capital to that of the Corinthian order is too obvious to require any particular notice, more especially as I am able to give no less than four very fine examples of it from the ruins of Jamâl-garhi. Only two pieces of base have yet been found, both of which are shown in the accompanying Plates.† Along

* See Plates XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX and L.
† See Plates XLVII and XLVIII.

with the larger piece I have given for comparison a sketch of the base from the well-known monument of Lysikrates. By examining these it will be seen that the Indian specimen differs from the original solely in giving an inward slope to the perpendicular narrow fillet which separates the scotia and torus. As this peculiarity is found in both of the Indian specimens, it is probable that it was the recognised form of the *Indo-Corinthian* fillet. In both of the Indian examples it will also be observed that the torus, or round projecting moulding, is thickly foliated, like that of most of the Corinthian bases. Of the upper part of the base not even a fragment has yet been found; and the representations in the bas-reliefs do not offer any assistance, as they show only one large and one small torus, separated by an astragal, and altogether want the deeply marked scotia which forms the leading characteristic of the Corinthian base, and which is carefully preserved in both of the full-sized Indian specimens.

No piece of shaft has yet been discovered, but the bas-reliefs show that there were both round and square pillars. Judging however from the full-sized capitals, of which I possess eight specimens from Jamâlgarhi, the round shaft was the more common form, as only one of the eight belonged to a square pillar

In the bas-reliefs there is no trace of flutes; and, as they might easily have been represented, I look upon their absence as a proof that they were but little, if at all, used. All the round shafts in the bas-reliefs are quite plain :* but the square shafts are frequently ornamented with sculptures, generally of single figures in attitudes of adoration which are turned toward the central figure of Buddha in the bas-reliefs of the intercolumniation.† Sometimes the square shaft is simply panelled, with semicircular curves inwards at top and bottom.‡

The capitals of the Indo-Corinthian pillars are by far the most beautiful examples of Indo-Greek architecture which have come down to us. The remains are very numerous; but unfortunately there are very few perfect specimens, which is partly due to the brittle nature of the clay slate in which they were carved, and partly to the custom, which would appear to have been invariable in all the larger specimens, of manufacturing each capital out of several distinct pieces. Thus the lower half of acanthus leaves was formed of two, three, or four pieces of equal size, which were carefully fastened with iron cramps. The upper half, comprising the abacus and volutes, was always made in four pieces, of which two, for the front and back, embraced the whole breadth of the capital, each having two volutes, while the other two were small straight pieces to fill in the side gaps between the volutes. All of these were carefully joined by iron cramps, but this mode of construction was so weak that when the pillars fell, the larger pieces were usually much broken, while the side pieces being both straight and small were easily carried off to be built into the walls of the destroyers. The result is that in no in-

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* See Plate XLVIII, left-hand figure below.
† See Plate XLVII, right-hand figure below.
‡ See Plate XLVII, middle figure below.

stance have all the pieces of any one capital yet been found, and that even good specimens of single pieces are very rare, and more especially of those of the lower half of the capital.

In the Lahore Museum there are three well-preserved upper halves and two pieces of a lower half, which, on bringing together, I found to fit to each other in every respect, including the positions of the cramp-holes. All of these are believed to have been found at Takht-i-Bahi. There are also two good side pieces, but unfortunately they do not fit any one of the capitals. In my own collection there are no less than eight upper halves of different sizes, with two side pieces, of which one belongs to the largest capital, and several pieces of lower halves, of which two fit the largest capital, one the second-sized capital, and two others the smallest capital. There is also one complete lower half in a single piece, together with two portions of its upper half. Four of my eight capitals are therefore tolerably complete. Three of these are represented in the accompanying plates*, together with the best-preserved and most characteristic specimen of the upper halves only.

On comparing these Indian examples of the Corinthian style with the pure Corinthian order of Greece, the general resemblance of the two is obvious. But at the same time the differences are so great as fully to warrant the separation of the former as a most pronounced and distinct variety under the name of Indo-Corinthian.

The chief points of similarity are:—

1st.—The three rows of acanthus leaves, eight in each row, which are ranged around the drum or bell of the capital.

2nd.—The broad, but not deep, volutes at the four corners.

3rd.—The four pointed abacus with a curved recess in the middle of each side.

The most marked points of difference are the following:—

1st.—The wide spread of the abacus, which is equal to 2½ heights of the whole capital, that of the Greek examples being little more than 1½ height.

2nd.—The retention of the points at the four corners of the abacus, which in all the Greek examples have been cut off.

3rd.—The insertion of a fourth row of acanthus leaves which is projected forward to the line joining the horns of the abacus. The abacus is thus formed from a square having a curved recess on each side of the central projection.

4th.—The placing of flowers on the abacus which are supported on twisted stems springing from the roots of the volutes. In a single instance fabulous animals are added to the flowers on the horns of the abacus.

5th.—The insertion of human figures amongst the acanthus leaves, whose overhanging tufts form canopies for the figures.

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* See Plates XLVIII, XLIX and L.

The following table gives the dimensions of ten of these capitals:—

	No.	Shape of Shaft.	Width of abacus.	Height of Capital.				Inches.	Remarks.
				Upper Member.	Lower Member.	Total.			
*	1	○	34⅝	8	6	14	×2½=	35	
*	2	□	28	6	5½	11½	×2½=	28¾	
	3	○	24	4½					
*	4	○	21⅞	4¾					
	5	○	21⅛	4⅝	...	...	.	...	Plain acanthus. No figures.
	6	○	21	5⅛					
*	7	○	20	4½	3¼	7¾	×2½=	19⅜	
	8	○	16½	4	2¾	6¾	×2½=	16⅞	
	9	□	25¼	5½					
	10	□	25¼	5½					

Besides the four specimens, Nos. 1, 2, 7 and 8, whose height is known, I have given the theoretical height calculated at 2½ heights of the capital. These numbers agree very closely, the sum of the four actual widths being 99 inches, while that of the calculated widths is just 100 inches. It is impossible to make any comparison with the diameter, as no piece of any shaft has yet been discovered. But it is very probable that the height was about equal to the lower diameter, as the circles chiselled on the under surface of the capitals, which would seem to represent the necks of the shafts, are always somewhat less than the height. Thus the upper diameter of No. 1 would appear to have been 12½ inches, which would give a lower diameter of about 14 inches, the exact height of the capital.

The human figures which are introduced in the spaces between the acanthus leaves are all small and do not interfere in the least degree with the treatment of the foliage. When there is only one figure, it is always that of Buddha, either sitting or standing, and when there are three figures, the middle one is of Buddha and the others are attendant Arhans. These figures are never obtrusive, and they are always so placed that to my eye they harmonise most agreeably with the surrounding and overhanging foliage.

I am aware that Roman capitals of a somewhat similar kind have been found amongst the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, which are described as being of singular splendour and interest. "The artist has been so far from confining himself to one prescribed pattern, either of volutes or of acanthus leaves, that he has ventured to employ vigorously carved *human* or *divine figures* as parts of the enrichment of his capitals.†"

The early date of these Roman examples, in the beginning of the 1st century of the Christian era, is almost contemporary with that which

* Sketches of the four specimens thus noted are given in the accompanying Plates XLVIII, XLIX and L.

† Article by Mr. Freeman in Macmillan's magazine, as noticed in the Academy.

I assign to the finest specimen of the Indo-Corinthian capitals just described, namely, the latter half of the 1st century B. C. The grounds on which I have arrived at this conclusion are the following:—

1st.—Numerous pieces both of the sculptures and of the architecture found in the Yusufzai ruins are marked with Arian letters, which I take to be the masons' marks of the actual builders. But as these characters had certainly fallen into disuse about the close of the first century A.D., the works which bear such characters cannot be of a later date than A.D. 100.*

2nd.—The limitation of the figures enshrined amongst the acanthus leaves to Buddha and his attendant Arhans shows that these particular forms of capital must have belonged to Buddhist buildings, and as the great spread of Buddhism over the countries to the west of the Indus was in all probability due to the conversion of the great Indo-Scythian king Kanishka, we have a limit to their antiquity in the period of his reign, which ranged from about 57 to 27 B. C. But this date refers to the introduction of Buddhist figures only, and not to the possible or even probable introduction of other figures at an earlier period.

That the great Buddhist establishment on the hill above Jamâlgarhi dates from the early period of Indo-Scythian rule is almost conclusively shown by the coins that were discovered during the excavations. These were eight in number, of which no less than seven belong to Bâzo-Deo or Vâsu Deva, whose reign is known to have filled the whole period between the Samvat years 44 and 98, or B.C. 13 and A.D. 41.

With respect to the style itself, we know positively that it must have been derived originally from the Greeks, as the small volutes and triple row of acanthus leaves of the pure Corinthian style were undoubtedly the prototypes of these Indian capitals. In fact, all the different styles of Grecian architecture must have been introduced into the Kâbul Valley at least two centuries before the Christian era. Many changes must have been gradually introduced, and when Buddhism was firmly established under the patronage of Kanishka, the overhanging curls of the acanthus leaves offered themselves as fitting canopies for the enshrinement of small figures of Buddha. That this was an original innovation of the semi-Greek architects of North-West India, I have little doubt; and if it was suggested to them by any earlier works, the suggestion must have come from the creative Greeks of Ariana, and not from the imitative Romans.

Another innovation was the great width of the capital, which, as I have already shown, was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ diameters, compared with the usual Greek proportion of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ diameter. This greater breadth was probably adopted either for the sake of increasing the intercolumniation in buildings, or for the purpose of giving a larger space for statues or other sculptures with which the Indians were accustomed to crown all their isolated columns. As no increase appears to have been made in the diameters of the shafts, this widening of the abacus necessitated a much bolder projection of the volutes and a more massive treatment of the acanthus foliage. Such at least is my idea of the probable origin of this peculiar variety of

* See page 64 of this volume.

the Corinthian style in India. We have no clue to any intermediate steps of its development, as no buildings of the pure Greek, or pre-Buddhist period have come down to us. But whatever may have been the origin of this development, there can be no question as to its Greek prototype in several important points. Of these the most prominent are the bolder play and freedom of its outlines, the richer luxuriance of its tracery, and the greater variety of its details. Its bending acanthus leaves also, with their deep overhanging curls, compare with advantage beside the rather stiff and monotonous primness of the Greek foliage, with its somewhat meagre curls.

I have already noted that no specimens of the buildings to which these Indo-Corinthian columns may have belonged have come down to us. But taking the bas-reliefs as our authority, it would seem that the square, three-quarter, and half pillars were sometimes used for the fronts of the small Vihars for the support of the rich frieze of acanthus leaves, or of other ornament.* But it is probable that many of them were only executed in plaster, as only one out of my eight capitals from the Jamâl-garhi ruins belonged to a square pillar. All the seven circular pillars therefore must have been either isolated columns supporting statues or symbols, or members of a group of 4 columns forming a canopy over a statue, or a small open hall, or *bedi*, for the use of readers. It is certain that there was at least one isolated pillar in the court-yard of the Jamâl-garhi Stûpa, as I found a square block *in situ* just inside the entrance and close to the Stûpa itself. On referring to the table of dimensions it will be seen that Nos. 4 and 5, and perhaps also No. 6, may have been used as the supports of a statue canopy. But as this certainly could not have been the case with the remaining five specimens, I conclude that they must have belonged to single isolated columns for the support of statues of men or animals, or of significant Buddhist symbols. Such figures we still see on existing pillars in India, as well as in ancient sculptures and coins, and such also we read of in the journals of the two Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang.

Amongst the sculptures exhumed from the courtyard of the Jamâl-garhi Stûpa there were several small figures of elephants of two different sizes, but all in the same position, with the trunk resting on the ground and holding a flower. Judging from their small size, and bearing in mind the several groups of four elephants which are shown in the Sânchi bas-reliefs and on numerous coins, as crowning the summits of ancient Buddhist pillars, it struck me that these small Jamâl-garhi elephants must have stood originally on the top of one of the pillars beside which they were found; I therefore arranged three of the same size on No. 7 capital, with the result shown in the accompanying plate.† Each of the elephants originally carried a rider on his back, as is seen on all the coins, but these are either broken or lost, only one fragment of a figure now remaining amongst them all.

* See Plate IX of this volume for a view of ruined Vihars surrounding the Takht-i-Bahi Stûpa.

† See Plate XLVIII, and compare the Sânchi Pillar in my Bhilsa Topes, Plate XXXI, fig 1.

Something of the magnificence of these Buddhist establishments may be gathered from the fact that no less than eight of these nighly decorated columns once stood in the small courts surrounding the Jamâlgarhi Stûpa. But the effect of this gorgeousness will be increased when we learn that all the finer specimens of these richly carved capitals were thickly gilded. This was undoubtedly the case with the largest specimen No. 1, with its span of nearly 36 inches, which, when first found, still retained much of its original gilding. It would appear also that all the finer specimens of the alto-relievos had originally been gilded. In every case the result has been the better state of preservation of all the good sculptures, which are now very slightly, if at all, discolored.

INDO-DORIC STYLE.

The Indian examples of the Doric style are found only in Kashmir and in the Salt Range of the Panjâb, after that part of the country had fallen under the dominion of Kashmir. The earliest known specimen is that of the great temple of the Sun, or Mârttand, which was built by king Ranaditya about A.D. 400. But as such a distinct and complete style could not have sprung fully matured from any one architect's brain, the temple of Mârttand can only be looked upon as an example of a style which had become almost stereotyped from long use. Its original derivation from the Grecian Doric seems to me to be quite certain, as it has all the same distinguishing features in the great ovolo of the capital and in the hollow flutes of the shaft which characterise the Greek style. The principal examples of this style have already been fully described by myself, as well as by Mr. Fergusson.* One of the later examples in the Salt Range is described in the present volume. The style appears to have continued in use in Kashmir without much change until the Muhammadan conquest of the valley.

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1848, and Fergusson's History of Architecture.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF SCULPTURES FROM YUSUFZAI.

THE following list contains a brief notice of 165 pieces of sculpture and architectural ornament which have been collected chiefly from the ruins of the great religious establishment that once occupied the hill above Jamâl-garhi in the Yusufzai district. Some few of the specimens were obtained at Sahri-Bahlol, others at Kharkai, and at Takht-i-Bahi; but the great mass, or about nine-tenths of the whole, was found at Jamâl-garhi.

In the absence of illustrations, I have not thought it worth while to describe the scenes in any detail, but have merely given a concise but clear account of each, which I trust will be sufficient to show the great value of these curious sculptures. I would draw special attention to the great flight of sixteen steps which led up to the Stûpa of Jamâl-garhi, every one of which has the "riser" completely sculptured with different subjects, in which the Buddhist Jâtakas appear to prevail.

The statues, especially those which I have noticed as royal portraits, seem to me to be more specially interesting and valuable. There are also several very fine statues of kings in the Lahore Museum, of which one has the ends of the royal diadem floating behind the head, just as we see them represented on the coins of the Greek Princes both of Europe and of Asia.

ALTO-RELIEVOS OF CHAPELS, OR VIHARS.

No.	Size.	Subject.
	Inches.	
C. 1	34½ × 20	Uravilwa Kâsyapa receiving a visit from Buddha. Kâsyapa remains sitting before his hut, with a fire-altar burning.
2	33 × 19½	Buddha attended by Devadatta.
3	15 × 19	Buddha,—two men to right, two women to left.
4	15 × 13¼	Prince Siddhartha leaving his home to become an ascetic.
5	12½ × 11¼	Ditto ditto ditto.
6	15 × 12	Dandapâni (?)
7	13¾ × 11¼	Two pieces with figures.
8	12¾ × 11¾	Upper portion of a chapel.
9	12 × 7½	Half of lower part of chapel. Figure and altar under tree.
10	14½ × 14	Top piece of chapel, with pinnacle complete.
11	26 × 12	Two pieces of a chapel.
12	18¼ × 20½	Top piece of chapel from Takht-i-Bahi.
13	18 × 12	Fragment of top piece of chapel of large size.
14	12 × 9	Ditto ditto ditto.
15	...	3 Tiers of sculpture. Bowl on throne at top. Buddha sitting in middle. Buddha standing below.
16	...	Chapel broken. Buddha in each of the three tiers.

DOMESTIC SCENES.

	No.	Size	Subject.
		Inches.	
D.	1	...	Mother washing her child in large bowl. Mare with foal, on the same slab.
	2	...	Wrestlers.
	3	...	Two females seated.
	4	...	Female standing with hand on hip.
	5	...	King and queen seated, with four children.
	6	...	Conventional view of a row of chapels.
	7	...	Man and woman standing, with child between them, and several attendants behind.
	8	...	A king standing, small; and a bearded man, small.
	9	..	Female standing in an oblong frame of beaded astragalus border (?) Athene.
	10	...	Man bearded, with woman and child, under tree.
	11	...	Two groups of two figures each, male and female.
	12	...	Male figures carrying off females.
	13	...	Lady seated, holding a mirror in one hand, and dipping other hand in a bowl held by a female attendant, whilst a second female attendant is combing her hair.
	14	...	Lady carried in a covered litter on men's shoulders. A man on horseback precedes.

ENTABLATURES.

	No.	Size.	Subject.
		Inches.	
E.	1	...	Line of dentils of cornice.
	2	...	Ditto ditto.
	3	...	Ditto ditto.
	4	9	7 Seated winged figures, 9 inches square.
	5	7¾	7 ditto ditto.
	6	5¾	4 ditto ditto.
	7	6	5 ditto ditto.
			N. B.—These 23 winged figures are square compositions, the upper portion projecting beyond the lower. All of the figures are seated with one knee bent, and the hands resting either on the ground or on the knee, showing that they were intended to represent figures supporting a heavy weight. Several have been found as much as 16 inches in height. The exact position which they occupied is unknown; but I think it possible that they may have filled the spaces between the large dentils which supported the heavy mouldings of the Stûpas.

FLIGHT OF STEPS.

No.	Size	Subject.
	Inches.	
F. 1	...	Row of figures seated behind a Buddhist railing.
2	...	*A Jâtaka* (?); subject not identified, as the sculpture is much mutilated. There are several scenes with men, oxen, deer, &c.
3	...	Row of female busts springing out of foliage, divided into compartments by pilasters.
4	...	*Wessantara Jâtaka*; in several scenes, divided by trees; one or two scenes are missing, but the following are nearly perfect:— 1.—Brahman from Orissa receiving the white elephant. 2.—Prince Sudatta leaving his father's city, his wife and children in a chariot, as he is leading on foot he is met by a Brahman who asks him for the horses. 3.—The Prince and his wife continuing their journey on foot, each carrying one of the children. 4.—Prince Sudatta seated in a cave with his two children is asked by a Brahman to give them up. 5.—The Princess Madri Devi, who is hurrying to the cave under a presentiment of evil, is met by Indra in shape of a lion. 6.—The Brahman having received the two children as slaves beats them to make them hurry on their way.
5	...	*A Jâtaka* (?); subject unknown; several different scenes with men and animals, divided by trees.
6	...	*A Jâtaka* (?); subject unknown, and the sculpture much broken. The different scenes are divided by pilasters. To the right there is a large boat.
7	...	*A Jâtaka* (?); subject unknown. The different scenes are divided by trees and pilasters. A bird enters into every scene, and in one a monk is being flogged. About ten scenes still remain, of which two are injured at bottom and two at top.
8	...	The *Sâma Jâtaka*.—This is unfortunately incomplete, but the following scenes have been recognized:— 1.—The young lad, son of blind parents, filling a vessel with water from a lake frequented by deer. 2.—The youth, shot accidentally by the Raja of Banâras, who aimed at the deer, is lying on the ground with an arrow sticking in his side. 3.—The Raja in a pensive attitude, his head resting on his hand, promises to take care of the lad's parents. 4.—The Raja presents a vessel of water to the blind parents. 5.—The Raja leads the two blind people by the hand to the spot where their child's body is lying. 6.—The youth restored to life.
9	...	A long procession of men and women, musicians and dancers.
10	...	Hunting scenes; sculpture much injured in the middle. To the left are two scenes, in each of which a lion is being attacked by archers and spearmen. To the left there is a third similar scene, and a boar hunt.

FLIGHTS OF STEPS—*contd.*

No.	Size.	Subject.
	Inches.	
11	...	*A Jâtaka* (?); sculpture incomplete, but divided into scenes by trees. Archer on horseback, musicians, dancers, &c.
F. 12	...	A *Jâtaka* (?); sculpture divided into scenes by trees and pilasters. A man on horseback appears in four of the scenes, and in a fifth he is leading the horse dismounted.
13	...	A continuous undulated hollow streamer, with figures of men in each undulation.
14	...	A *Jâtaka* (?); sculpture divided into scenes by trees and pilasters much mutilated.
15	..	A row of human figures with double fish tails, divided into compartments by pilasters.
16	...	Procession of musicians and dancers. The female dress is not Indian, but Greek.
		N. B.—These 16 subjects are found on the "risers" of a single flight of 16 steps, which led up to the Jamâl-giri Stûpa.

HEADS.

No.	Size.	Subject.
	Inches.	
H. 1 to	...	Heads of Buddha, with hair peculiarly arranged, and
20	...	Heads of kings with mustaches, and curious head-dresses, with strings and chaplets of jewels interwoven with the hair.
		MISCELLANEOUS.
M. 1	...	A centaur.
2	...	Heraklēs fighting with a snake-legged giant.
3	...	Hippo-camp.
4	...	Peacock.
5	...	Three elephants.
		PILLARS.
P. 1	34½	Half capital of Indo-Corinthian pillar.
2	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
3	...	Ditto litto ditto.
4	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
5	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
6	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
7	...	Half capital of ditto with lower member complete and half of base.
8	...	Half capital with part of lower member.
9	...	Pilaster with figure on shaft.
10	...	} Pair of square pillars.
11	...	
12	...	Small round pilaster.
13	...	Small square pillar, two faces.
14	...	Ditto, ditto.

RELIGIOUS SCENES.

No.	Size.	Subject.
	Inches.	
R. 1	...	Birth of Buddha. Mâyâ Devi under the sâl tree.
2	...	Ditto ditto.
3	...	Ditto ditto.
4	...	Ditto ditto.
5	...	Nirvâna of Buddha.
6	...	Numerous figures, and dog on a table, finely executed, formerly gilt.
7	...	Figure kneeling before Buddha formerly gilt.
8	...	Buddha attended by Devadatta, with other figures, under a built arch.
9	...	Devadatta's attempt to kill Buddha by clubmen lying in wait behind a wall.
10	...	Ditto ditto ditto.
11	...	Procession with dancing figures.
12	...	Two scenes of Buddha sitting and standing.
13	...	Ditto ditto with other small figures.
14	...	From *Sahri Bahlol*. Curious sculpture in two compartments: *upper*—Buddha standing, with figures, to right of a door; *lower*—Buddha sitting, pouring water over the back of a man's head.
15	...	Buddha sitting with attendants in upper compartment.
16	...	Ditto standing: some figures are flinging rocks at him?
17	...	Broken figures, making obeisance to Buddha.
18	...	Buddha seated teaching, with two standing and two kneeling figures.
19	...	Buddha seated under Bodhi tree: Buddha standing.
20	...	Various scenes.
21	...	
22	...	
23	..	Broken, but one monk s head shaved in capital order.
24	...	Buddha with two attendants.
25	...	Buddha with seven figures, including one kneeling figure and two shaved monks.
		Buddha seated teaching, two attendants standing.
26	...	From *Sahri Bahlol*: Buddha seated with several attendants to right.
27	...	Buddha standing teaching, with numerous auditors.
28	...	Buddha sitting teaching ditto.
29	...	Three females and several other figures attending Buddha.
30		Two seated Buddhas with pilaster between.
31	...	Figure feeding flame of fire-altar.
32	...	Buddha seated with two kneeling and two standing attendants.
33	...	Royal figures presenting offerings to Buddha.
34	...	Buddha standing with attendants.
35	...	Buddhist symbol of *Dharma Chakra*, or "Wheel of the Law," under trefoil canopy, with several worshippers.
36	...	Buddha placing his right hand on an elephant's head.
37	...	Buddha standing to right of Bodhi tree and throne, with two attendants. To left four attendants. Two flying figures above.
38	...	Figure seated in cave or hut, through the side of which his right arm is projected, the hand resting on a man's head.

RELIGIOUS SCENES—*contd.*

No.	Size.	Subject.
	Inches.	
R. 39	...	Buddha with four attendants.
40	...	A long undulated garland carried in procession.
41	...	From Kharkai: Several trumpeters.
42	...	A long undulated garland carried in procession.
43	...	Ditto ditto with dancing figures.
44	...	Two sitting and two standing Buddhas in one frieze.
45	...	Two pieces of procession of undulated garland.
46	...	Several pieces of frieze.
47	...	Two panels with Buddha and followers.
48	...	Four groups, with Buddha between pilasters.
49	...	Ditto ditto ditto.

STATUES.

No.	Height.	Subject.
		BUDDHA.
	Ft. In.	
S. 1	2 11¾	Buddha standing; broken across ankles, but complete.
2	2 10¼	Ditto ditto with pedestal perfect.
3	1 7	Ditto ditto ditto.
4	1 5½	Ditto seated ditto.
		KINGS.
5	3 2½	King standing; pedestal complete.
6	3 1½	Ditto ditto, feet and pedestal gone.
7	2 6½	Ditto ditto, pedestal complete.
8	2 6½	Ditto ditto, ditto.
9	2 6	Ditto ditto, ditto.
10	2 9	Ditto ditto, one leg and both feet gone.
11	2 0	Ditto ditto, feet and pedestal gone.
12	1 10	Ditto ditto, ditto ditto.
13	1 8	Ditto ditto, pedestal complete.
14	1 8	Ditto ditto, feet and pedestal gone.
15	1 9	King sitting.
16	1 10½	Ditto.
17	1 6½	Ditto.
18	1 6	Ditto.
19		Female standing in a frame surrounded by beaded astragalus.
20	1 3	Fragment of seated statue of king, left knee and leg with brightly ornamented seat.
21	...	Figure seated in a four-horse-chariot. *N. B.*—These royal statues are known by their mustaches, and the numerous strings of gems worked into their head-dresses. The arrangement of the hair is different in each separate specimen, and as the features also differ their seems little doubt that they are portrait statues.

O. P. G. P.—No. 30 H. D.—23-4-75.—750.

INDEX.

A. Cunningham, del.

Plate III

A. Cunningham. del.

A. Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham, del.

TAKHT-I-BAHI

Plate VII.

A. Cunningham, reduced from Sergt. Wilcher,

STAIRCASES

A. Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham. del.

A. Cunningham, del.

KHARKAI.

A. Cunningham del.

A Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham del.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del,

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del

A. Cunningham, del

Plate XXIV

MOULDINGS.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

BASEMENT

(LOST)

4 Feet

Inches 12

A. Cunningham, del

MALLOT.
Plate XXV.
FORT
OF
MALLOT
IN THE
SALT-RANGE
PANJAB
Cultivated
level
ground
Soj N.
Gate
Fields
TEMPLE
0
Ft.
A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

INSCRIPTION in a SQUARE WELL at [illegible]

West Side	North Side	East Side	
			A.
			B.
			C.
			D.

A. Cunningham del.

A Cunningham.del.

A Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham del

A. Cunningham, del.

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Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, December 1874.

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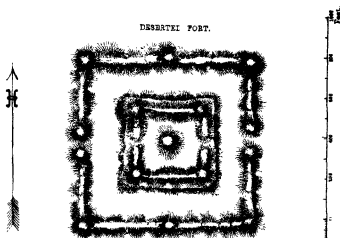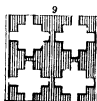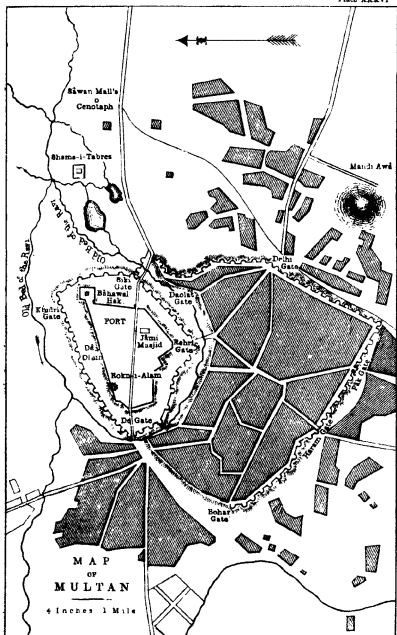
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A Cunningham, del.

DEVAJÁRI
King of India and Persia

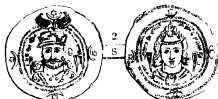
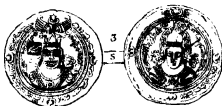
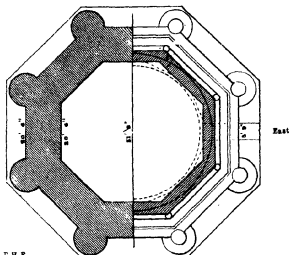
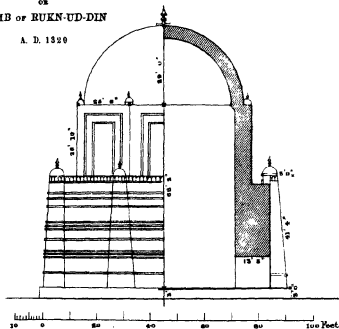
Sri Hitivi-cha Airan-cha-parameswara Sri Sháhi-tigina-DEVAJÁRI

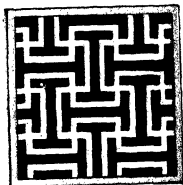
or

Sri Sháhi TIGINA-Devajárin

KHUSRU II.
King of Persia
A D 627

VÁSU - DEVA
King of Multan

A Cunningham, del.

GLAZED TILE MOSAICS.

Tomb of Baháwal Hak.

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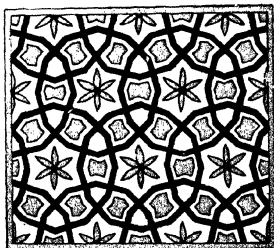
Tomb of Rokn i-Alam.

A D. 1320.

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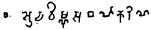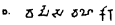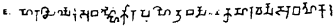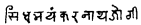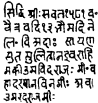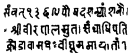
5 — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

2

3

4

A. Cunningham del

KANHIÁRA

Rock Inscriptions

FROM RUINED TEMPLE AT CHARI.

FROM INDRESWARA TEMPLE AT KANGRA.

DATE of BAIJNÂTH TEMPLE at KIRAGRAMA.

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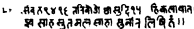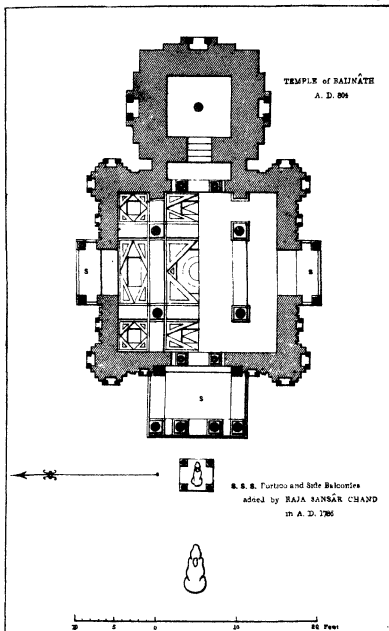
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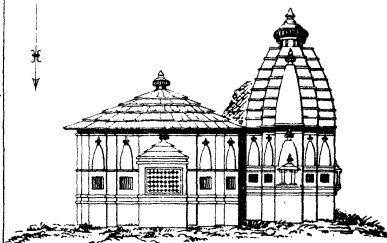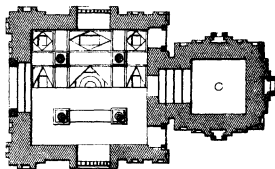
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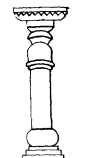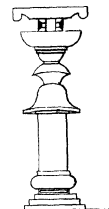
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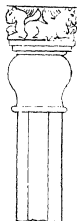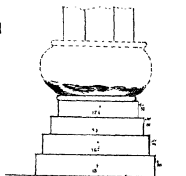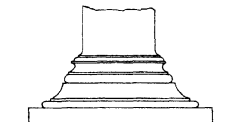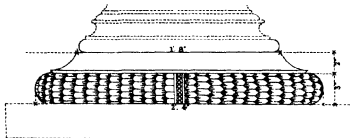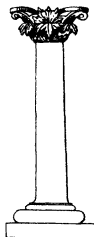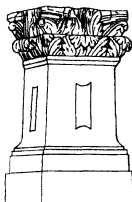
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INDO-CORINTHIAN

JAMÂL-GARHI.

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